

THE SOUTH BANK OF THE GAMBIA:
PLACES, PEOPLE, AND POPULATION
(A) KANTORA AND FULADUU

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In this series of Gambian Studies an attempt has been made to create a set of District Reports, based on notes in the files in my collection, official publications, and books. This arose primarily from an attempt to determine the general pattern of the various ethnic groups, and to identify the villages and places mentioned by early travellers, or occurring in later reports.

Shortly after I began anthropological work in The Gambia, (1946), the Senior Commissioner had the various district scribes who were engaged in the Annual Assessment for tax purposes, make a serious effort to record more accurately the ethnic affiliation of the various compound owners. This resulted in much more reliable data for the period 1946-1948.

When new maps were made following the first air surveys (1948), the attribution of place names was not always accurate, but at least the location of the communities on the map provided a better basis for work on the ground. In a number of areas in subsequent years I methodically visited all the places I could by motor bike, e.g. the Kiang and Jaara Districts, Kantora and Fuladu East, Upper Saalum, Fonyi Brefet and Fonyi Bintang-Karenai, most of the Kombo area (though this has greatly changed in recent years). In these visits I tried to check both the ethnic affiliations given in the assessment data, and the current names for the communities involved. Some villages are constant, others move a short distance as the soil becomes exhausted, while the hamlets of the Fulbe are constantly changing. When new roads are constructed, often segments of old villages break away, so as to be nearer the main lines of communication. New villages are established by immigrants.

Information about the various districts was sorted out in 1995, using the headings given on the following page. In most cases the information has been extracted and given in full, though in some instances references are given to more recent material.

General Headings

Name of District

Maps consulted

Area of District

Legends of origin/ Early History

Boundaries

Main geographical features

Early travellers' accounts

Early village lists

Population (Assessment and Census data)

Village names and location

Ethnic groups

Descriptions of specific places

Pre-Islamic beliefs

Archaeological features. Ancient monuments.

Photographs available, or seen in publications

Articles appearing in recent years

Material on certain major warriors or rulers

The material available to me varies greatly from district to district.

It is hoped, however, that the result will provide a basis for further research by people in The Gambia itself.

only
For some references/the author and date are given. For the full title of the work reference should be made to my General Bibliography of The Gambia (1979).

KANTORA

All the villages in Kantora were visited by motor-bike in January 1954.

Maps consulted:	Leach	1732
Map of the Upper Gambia from Yarbutenda to Bady Wharf.		1881
TSGS No. 1983	1:1,000,000	1905
No.1958	1 cm to 2.5 kilometres	1931
Sheet 21	1:50,000	1948
	1: 250,000	1980

Area: 136 square miles.

KANTORA

An old kingdom on the south bank in the Upper River area.

Name Duarte Pacheco Pereira (1506-08),
The old Portuguese writers -/Donelha (1625), Coelho (1684) spelled
the name Cantor.

English writers -Jobson (1620), Moore (1730), used the form Cantore.

The State of Kantora

*

It was a "kooring" state ruled by the Sanyangs, and one of the
original Kaabu states .

Winfred Galloway in A Listing of some Kaabu States and Associated Areas..

(1980) summarises a legend regarding its rulers:

"Mansa Aali Keeta, Sunjata's son, migrated with Tiramakang, who settled
him in Kantora. His surname changed to Sanyang because of regret. When
Sunjata summoned them home, the rainy season came upon them at Basse,
so they stopped there to spend the rainy season. Meantime, word came
that Sunjata had died. So his son came to Tiramakang and said: "Nga
savi nyaa saying ?" "How can we go home now ?" So they remained in
Kaabu, because Tiramakang died that same rainy season. And the
descendants of Mansa Aali became Sanyang, and they lived in Kantora
Sonkunda."

Jobson (~~Fuchas~~ his Pilgrimes) (1621) mentions Cantore River....

"where Ferran Cabo is the great King." At this point he had passed

Baraconda (Baarakunda), and was close to Tenda...so the 'Cantore River'
would have been the Grey River, a river "which hath a faire entrance".

This confirms Kantora as subordinate to Kaabu. On Senegalese maps the

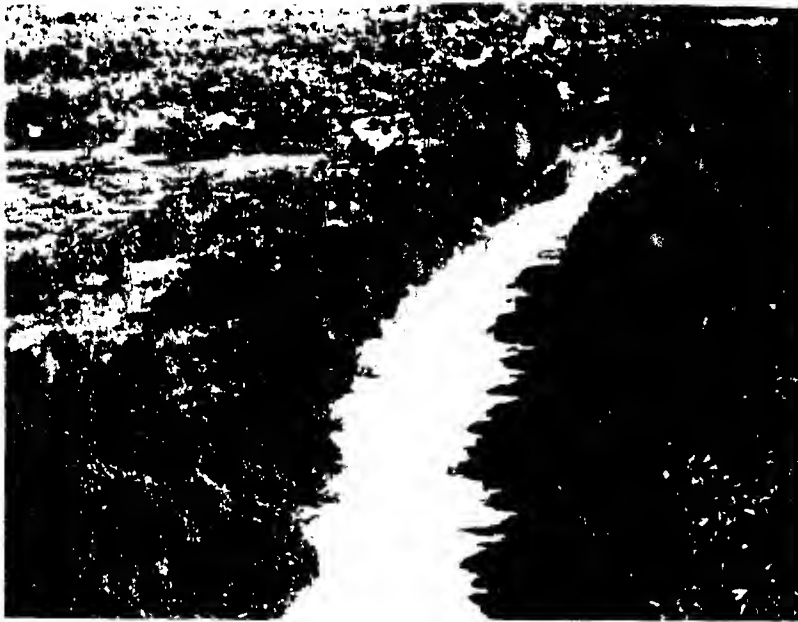
Grey River is shown as the Koulontou or Koulounto. Air photographs in

Report to the Governments of Gambia and Senegal: Integrated Agricultural

Development in the Gambia River Basin, Rome: F.A.O. 1964 show the confluence

between the two rivers, and the Kuluntu valley. (See page 3)

* See page 6b



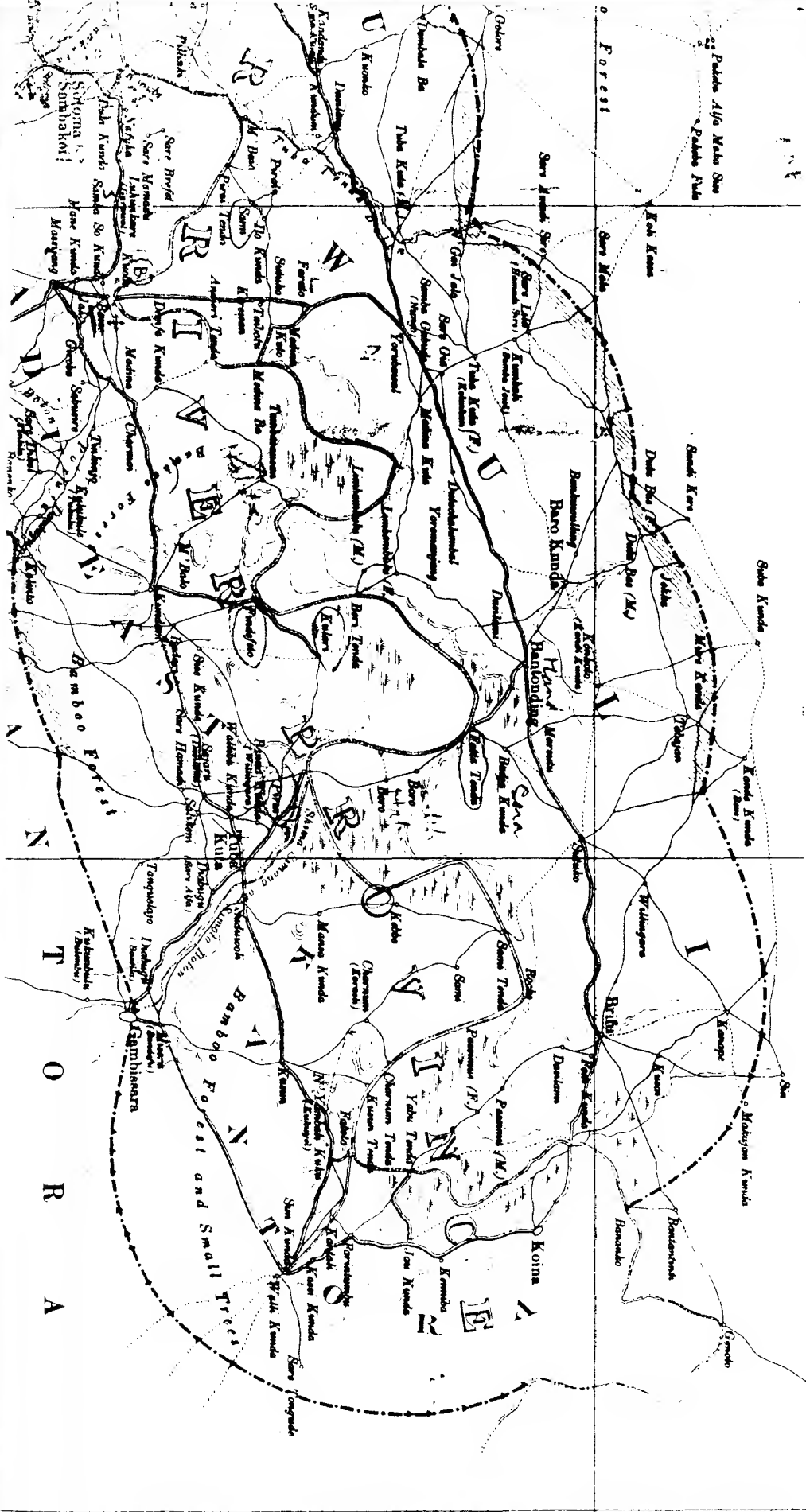
La vallée de la Koulountou.

The Kuluntu Valley.



Confluent de la Koulountou (venant de face) et de la Gambie (coulant transversalement). Noter les nombreux méandres et la largeur du lit majeur de la vallée, ainsi que la forte teneur en limon des eaux de la Koulountou.

Confluence between Kuluntu (centre) and Gambia (flowing transversely). Note the numerous meanders, the width of the flood plains, and the high silt content of the Kuluntu.



No. 1958

1:250,000

revised: 1931

The concepts of koorinq and nvancho

The term kooring is dealt with at length in Gordon Innes: Kaabu and Fuladu: Historical Narratives of the Gambian Mandinka, 1976, p.65-66.

"This word does not occur in everyday Gambian Mandinka, but is confined to griots' narrations. The meaning of kooring is a matter of some controversy, and the griots themselves are divided on this question. In discussion Bamba Suso stated quite clearly that for him the koorings are the descendants of Sunjata's younger brother, Saanya; the Saanya (or Sanyang) family in The Gambia is a kooring family. According to other griots, however, a kooring is a person whose father was a prince (nyancho) but whose mother was not. The status of nyancho 'prince' passed down in the female line, hence a man was a nyancho if his mother was a nyancho regardless of his father's status. But if a man's father, but not his mother, was a nyancho, then that person was a kooring. In this view, both the nyanchos and the koorings were associated with Kaabu. For Bamba Suso, on the other hand, the nyanchos were princes of Kaabu, descendants of Tiramang, founder of Kaabu, whereas the koorings were associated with Manding (Mali), and were the descendants of Sunjata's younger brother.

On page 32 he deals with the concept of nyancho. "The nyanchos of Kaabu were a hereditary warrior aristocracy, with their own ethos which stressed such martial qualities as courage, resoluteness in the face of danger, loyalty, and perhaps above all, honour. A nyancho lived by and for war; he expected to die young, but to die fighting was infinitely preferable to the everlasting shame of flight. A nyancho did not seek material gain; what he strove for above all else was reputation. The rulers of Kaabu were always chosen from among the nyancho families, the two most important of which were the Saanes and the Maanes...."

BOUNDARIES

Kantora is separated from Wulli on the north by the river Gambia, and had a boundary with Tomany (Tumanna, Tumani) on the west.

On Leach's map of 1732, the boundary is drawn south from the river between Pry (Peray) and Colar (Kulari), a few miles up river from Fatatenda on the north bank. I remember being told (c.1954) that the hill west of Kundam on the main road to Basse was once the^a boundary between Kantora and Tumanna.

The western section may have been lost in local wars, and the British administration fixed the district boundary at the Simoto Bolong when the Protectorate was established.^b In 1913 the head chief of Kantora requested that his jurisdiction be extended to the old boundary "running half way between Peray and Kulari to Kulinto near the French boundary," but this was refused.

The Treaty of 1889 between France and England cut through the southern section of Kantora, and also cut off the eastern section, the former boundary being the Grey River.

To the east of Kantora would have been the states of Tanda (appearing in various old accounts as Tenda, Tinda etc.) and Damantang.

- a The Socio-historical Fact Finders Society, Gambia News Bulletin, May 1969, states "The Kingdom then extended as far west as Kuto Kinka, a spring between Kulari and Sambakunda." This would be about a couple of miles from the hill.
- b Its official boundaries are the River Gambia, the international boundary, and the Simoto Creek.

Geographical features

The boundary between Fuladu East and Kantora is now the Shima^{Simong,} or Simoto Bolong, also called the Suduwal river. It rises in the Casamance. However, it is not navigable even for canoes, as the current is strong during the rainy season, and there is not enough depth in the dry season. The banks are overgrown with vegetation.

Between Koina and Yaabutenda there is a low flat tract of ground about a quarter of a mile wide behind the river bank. Beyond this is a chain of marshes or swamps extending inland from a few hundred yards to several miles. These are flooded in the rainy season, but largely dry up in the dry season, though leaving pools, which abound in fish. The land rises gradually from the swamps, and has a series of iron stone ridges which may rise to about 150 feet. The swamps are separated in several places by iron stone hills which run down to the river bank as at Fatoto.

Because of the variable depth of water in the swamps, and the unpredictability of rainfall and flooding, it is difficult to use them for rice growing.

crest of the
The/river bank at Yabutenda is 32 feet above mean tide level (Parker, 1903),
at Koina Wharf, 40 feet.

Early Travellers

In the time of the early Portuguese voyagers the upper river was an area of great importance for trade, being a source of gold, ivory, and slaves, caravans bringing these from various places in the interior to ports on the river in Wulli and Kantora.

Duarte Pacheco Pereira in his Esmeraldo de Sito Orbis (1506-1508) (Translation by Raymond Mauny, 1956), mentions a country called Cantor, the four principal places being Sutucoo, with 4000 inhabitants, Jalancoo, Dobancoo, and Jamnan Sura. The text makes it clear that these were on the north bank, and they are in fact in Wulli, opposite Kantora. Sutucoo can be identified with Sutukoba, a Jaxanke town in Wulli, which was long an important trading and religious center. Dobanko was mentioned as being an old (deserted) wharf town in Wulli (conversation with people of Bantunding, Wuli in 1972) but its location has not yet been determined. Jagrançura was mentioned in Andre Alvares d'Almada's work (1594) as the port of Sutucoo. Jalancoo is not mentioned by other writers. (Jalakoto in Tenda seems too far to have been accessible.)

Francisco de Lemos Coelho : Description of the Coast of Guinea, 1684, describes Pirai, Same (= Sami), called the 'port of Cantor', and Baracunda (= Barakunda), which is on the north bank in Wuli. Ports in the upper river could serve both north and south banks, receiving caravans from various directions, and often maintaining huts for travellers on the bank opposite to that where the traders were established. Trade with Kantora was made difficult in Coelho's time by the exactions of the representatives of the Farim do Cabo (i.e. Faring Kaabu), the ruler of Kaabu, the king of Wulli (Wulli Mansa) at that time being more friendly to traders.

Some 40 years later when Capt. Stibbs made a voyage up the Gambia in 1724, he also anchored at Prye after leaving Fatatenda, then stopped at Samatenda (= Sami Tenda), at Coussar (p.269)/Cussane (p. 270) (= Kusun), and at Yabutenda, about a league beyond Kusun, before reaching the site of

* Enquiries by Dr. Peter Weil suggested that it was near present day Limbambulu.

(North bank)

Barrakunda, which by then had been destroyed. Barakunda Falls were about three leagues beyond the port. Stibbs mentions a town in Kantora opposite Barakunda, some four miles away, but does not name it.

Francis Moore (1730) never went above Fatatenda.

A report by Administrator V.S. Gouldsbury (Correspondence relating to the recent expedition to the Upper Gambia under Administrator V.S. Gouldsbury.

London: H.M.S.O., 1881, C-3065) describes the devastation of the country by wars in the late nineteenth century. "The Cantora country was invaded in 1879 by the combined forces of Barcarry Sardho, King of Bondou, Molloh, King of Ferdo, and Sorie or Alpha Ibrahema, Chief of Laby, and by this host its villages and farms were laid waste, many of its people were carried into slavery, and the remainder were dispersed to seek refuge wherever it could be found. Some of these latter have now returned to Cantora and have rebuilt a few villages; but the King of Cantora being dead, and no proper successor having been yet elected, there appears to be no undisputed authority in the country; and, in fact, it is, as a nation, a broken-up one..."

After landing at yarbutenda, which consisted of a few huts occupied by a trader, he visited a village called Cantora, about an hour and a half's walk from the wharf. He ascertained that along the land route there was not a single town or village between Cantora and Jallacotta on the Nerico River. No mention is made of Sonkunda, which was a well fortified town, and perhaps had survived the worst of the hostilities, and might have taken in people from smaller surrounding villages. As Sonkunda was just over four miles from Yaabutenda, this might have been the place Gouldsbury called 'Cantora'.

At this period the French were also interested in the upper reaches of The Gambia. Kantora was placed under the French protectorate, following a treaty signed on the 23rd of December 1888 at Kayes with Archinard. However, the Treaty of 1889 between France and England restored a section of Kantora to the British, though the boundary cut through the southern section of Kantora, and also cut off the eastern section, its former boundary being the Grey River.

Dr. Andre Rançon visited the region in 1891-92 (Dans la Haute Gambie: Voyage d'Exploration Scientifique, 1894). He mentions passing the ruins of Kantora-Counda on the right of the path between Yaabutenda and Sonkunda, which was then said to have 300 inhabitants. Rançon's sketch map is difficult to read, but Kantora-Counda seems to be about 3 miles from Yaabutenda. Rançon describes the fortifications of Sonkunda in great detail. There was also a small Serahuli village, Diara-Counda, of about 200 people, and a small Wolof village. Otherwise everything had been destroyed. He provides lists of 8 Mandinka villages, 10 Serahuli villages and 14 Fula villages, which no longer existed, though a number were rebuilt in later years.

In 1902 a list of towns was published for what was then known as District No. 3 (Upper River). The total population was estimated at less than 1500 people.

Chanum
 Farringtumbo
 Jano-Kunda (= Jawokunda ?)
 Kusoon
 Kwoina
 Kaba Kunda
 Keneba
 Kantalli Kunda
 Kukuyelle
 Kassi Kunda
 Mansa Kunda
 Sami
 Sunkunda
 Suduwell

Francis Bisset Archer's handbook: The Gambia Colony and Protectorate, 1906, gives a number of names in a section on "Direct Marches" (p. 187), while a small scale map, (1:1,000,000) T.S.G.S. No.1983 of 1905) also shows most of the places.

	p.187	map	
Kwonia Wharf (on north bank)	x		
Kwonia (on south bank)	x		= Koina M
Keneba	x	x	
Jowokunda	x		
Farringtumbo	x		
Kassi Kunda	x	x	M
Sunkunda	x	x	
Yarbutenda	x	x	
Fatoto		x	
Konkuyelle	x		
Chanum	x	x	= Charnum
Chanum Tenda		x	
Konsoon	x		= Kusun M
Peri/Peri wharf	x	x	in present day Fuladu East District
Tuba Kouta	x	x	M

M= Muslim villages

Population

Based on Commissioner's Reports.

Villages

1904	3500	estimated	14
1912	2120	"	
1916	3079	assessment	24
1917	3930	"	24
1918	6454	"	24
1919	6721	"	25
1920	4707	"	27
1921	4257	"	28
1922	5416	"	29
1923	5349	"	29
1924	-	"	30
1925	3507	"	27
1926	3550	"	28
1927	3560	"	29
1928	4042	"	29
1929	4717	"	32
1930	4607	"	33
1931	4492	"	34
1932	5256	"	34

The increases in 1918 and 1919 were attributed to people being attracted by the credits given out by the trading firms, and seed nuts and rice by the Government. There may also have been an effect from conscription in Senegal. The subsequent fall in 1920 and 1921, and between 1923 and 1925 was attributed to pressure in collecting debts, the people simply moving across the frontier.

Assessment data published by the Senior Commissioner's office provide the following figures:

1944	6200
1945	6873
1946	6871
1947	6766
1948	6873
1949	7332
1950	7046
1951	7284
1952	7242
1953	7568
1954	7902
1955	8836
1956	8296
1957	8681
1958	8495
1959	n.a.
1960	n.a.
1961	10210

1963	9044	(Census data)
1973	13324	(Census data)
1983	17290	(Census data)
1993	25269	(Census data)

1954 Survey of Villages, Population and Ethnic grouping.

In January 1954 I travelled extensively through Kantora on a motor bike to check the accuracy of names on the available maps - 1/50,000 DCS 15 DOS 415, 1948 and 1/250,000, No. 1958, 1906. Revised 1931.- and to check the ethnic composition of the various villages, using the 1952-53 Tax Assessment data which listed the names of the compound owners. The population figures provided by local authority clerks are merely estimates, and have not the accuracy of later census data, but the resulting pattern is still reasonably accurate.

I have added population data from the 1973 census, but villages with less than 100 people are not listed separately in the Census Report.

* indicates further notes on the place in a later section.

Villages are listed by general locality.

(A) Along the main road to Fatoto after crossing the Simoto Bolong (Creek)

- (1) Suduwol A Serahuli village, one of the earliest in Kantora.
The inhabitants came originally from Bondu.
1973 population: 561.
 - * (2) (Saare Yesu (Jesus' town) A Fula village, where the Anglican mission
(
(Kumbul had a dispensary.
 - * (3) Kusun A small village with Mandinka, Jaxanke, Futa Jalon Fulbe,
et al.

(See later notes for Kusun Wharf)
 - (4) Temanto A small Mandinka village.
 - (5) Sabi A Serahuli village, south of the main road. Came about 1944.
1973 population: 181. (4 years on nearby site, 6 years
on present).
 - (6) Gadafaro No data. Shown on map, but probably counted in assessment
of Fatoto/Kukuyel.
 - * (7) Fatoto Wharf town. Wolof traders etc.
 - (8) Uptown Fatoto & Kukuyel Apparently lumped together in assessment. More than
a dozen ethnic groups represented. People from Futa
Jalon, Mali, and Senegal, etc. many of whom are engaged
in trade.
(1931 map shows
N'Yambali Kuku)
- The 1973 census has 234 people for Fatoto,
542 for Kukuyel.

(B) Zone north of the main road.

- (9) Garawol (On map as Karaoli). Named Charnum on old maps.
A large Serahuli town. The people came from Bondu via
Dasilami in Sandu.
1973 population: 2855.

There was also a wharf east of Garawol (= Charnum Tenda).

- (10) Sami A Mandinka village, with Garawol encroaching on its lands.

The 1973 census indicates an old Sami (Sami Koto) 287 people.
new Sami (Sami Kuto) 161 "
- *(11) Sami Tenda Northwest of Sami is a path leading to the river where there
is a wharf. (Not visited)
- (12) Kebbe Kunda A Fula village, south-west of Sami, north-west of Garawol.
1973 population: 104.
- (13) Nema Not marked on map. A Fula village.
Northwest of Kebbekunda towards the Jonkoto swamp in the
zone between the two paths shown on the 1/50,000 map.
1973 population: 129.
- (14) Mansakunda Marked on 1/50,000 map. Abandoned by 1954.
- (15) Barajikunda A Serahuli village. From Garawol.
Located north of the Kumbul Bolong, close to a laterite hill.
now called 1973 population: 244.
Kerewan
(The name is spelled Barajali on the 1956 1:125,000 map,
undoubtedly an error.)

C Zone along southern frontier.

- (16) Misira A Serahuli village. Includes some Jawando from Nyoro.
1973 population: 1071. (Originally called Sadefu)
- *(17) Gambisara Serahuli village . A second smaller Gambisara exists
across the frontier. Founded after the frontier was
delineated, as the boundary cut through their lands.
Gambisara in Fuladu founded from here, but some of the
people later came back.
1973 population: 535.
- (18) Saare Hande Now called Bantanto. Firdu Fulbe (Jawarinkolu).

- (19) Tumbul Tanga (A Serahuli name ?)
 now called Nyamanari Kuto. Small Mandinka settlement.
 People said to have gone to Fuladu West.
 Remains of old fortifications visible.

- (20) Kuari on map. Small settlement of Serahuli.
 Fulbe who were here have left.
 = Kuwara

- (21) Nyamanari Large Fula settlement. "Kaminalu" = Haminaabe in Fula.
 from Bondu. Plus some Dorobe and Futa Jalon Fulbe.
 1973 population: 836.

- * (22) Sonkunda An old Mandinka village.
 Strongly fortified during the last century.
 1973 population: 802.

- (23) Wali-kunda A small settlement close to and south of Sonkunda.
 Mandinka.

(No villages now exist to the east of Sonkunda, only farms.)

Saare Tongude which appears on older maps no longer exists (1954).

D Zone northwest of Sonkunda.

- (24) Karsi Kunda - should read Kaasi Kunda.
 (Kassekunda) A Mandinka village.
 1973 population: 257.

- (25) Bani Israel Mandinka village.
 1973 population: 126.

- (26) Madina Kuta A Fula village. People mainly from Futa Jalon.
 also known as
Laibe Kunda

(Medina was originally outlying farm land from Sonkunda where temporary huts were made.)

The 1973 census lists a Madina Fula: population: 158.

- (27) The small circle on the 1/50,000 map just west of Kaasi Kunda is
Brikama. A Mandinka village. Split from Madina after a land dispute.
 1973 population: 116.

- (28) Hamdalay Where the path west from Kaasikunda meets the path from
 Sonkunda to Fatoto Wharf is a new village (1951).

- *(29) Kantalikunda A Mandinka village.
1973 population: 114.
- (30) Welingara The area named Sinchang/Sambakubasu on 1/50,000 map
is now known as Welingara.
Kantora Fulbe.
- (31) North of Kantalikunda is a name spelled differently on various maps, and reports.
- It appears as Farintombou in Rancon's list of destroyed villages (1894).
In the 1927 list of villages (Gambia Government Gazette) it appears as Faring Tumbung. In the 1936 list of Chiefs and Villages it has become Fan Tumbung. On the 1948 map it appears as Fantumbu, and as Fatumbu in the 1973 Census Report. Undoubtedly Faring Tumbung was the original name.
- A Mandinka village.
1973 population: 190.
- (32) Tubanding A small village. Tilibonkolu (People from the East = from Mali.) Origins: Bundu & Tanda. came in 1930s.
- (33) Kewal A small Fula village on the road near Kristikunda.
Haboobe from Wuli (Pasamasi). Came about 1951.
- (34) Jaukunda A Fula village (Kantora Fulbe).
Jawo-kunda 1973 population: 220.
- *(35) Kristi Kunda = Christ's Town. Founded by the Anglican Mission for education and community development.
A boarding school had Mandinka, Susu, and Aku students.
A day-school mainly Fula.
- *(36) Yaabu-tenda Yarbu Tenda on old maps.
West of Jawo-kunda on the river bank, about two miles up river from Fatoto.
A trade center. Such settlements often had huts or establishments on both the north and south banks to make it easy to accomodate visiting traders, and provide safety in the event of local outbreaks of warfare.
- (37) Sotuma A Mandinka village.
1973 population: 148.
- (38) Heramakono Bambara and Serahuli. Established early this century.
1973 population: 208.
- (39) Sare Beru = On map.
Saare Biru Now known as Damfakunda. A Fula village.

- (40) Keneba A Serahuli village. Originally from Bondu, came via
Population in 1973: 404. Sandu (early 1900s).
- (41) Sincu Fye)
Fay) On map, north of Keneba. Now abandoned.
- *(42) Koina Large Serahuli village.
1973 population: 1472.

(E) East of Heramakono, near frontier.

- (43) Saare Mala Small Fula village.
- (44) Hamdalay
- (45) Saare Baci Small Fula village ?
Keneba people (Serahuli) had a compound at Saare Baci,
used when they farmed across the boundary.

On the 1948 map:

Kuryane (SE of Koina)) were shown as 'ruins'.
)
Sare Tobi (E. of Sotoma))
)
Tabanding (SE of Sotoma)

Misera (NW of Nyamanari) had been abandoned by 1954 .

1980 map adds Jidda, and Aliya Alett on path east of Kristikunda.

- *(46) Perai/ Pirai Under present day definitions of boundaries
Perai is in Fuladu East District. Originally
the boundary of Kantora included this section
of Fuladu.

Farindala near boundary in Saare Mala area.
long since abandoned. New village in 1937.

KANTORA - ETHNIC GROUPS

Re-evaluation of 1952-53 Assessment Data (Jan. 1954)

Villages in alphabetical order.

1	Bani Israel (A Jaxanke name)	Mandinka	80
2	Bantanto = Sare Hande	Firdu Fulbe (Jawarinko)	22
3	Barajikunda (Kerewan)	Serahuli	28
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	12 40
4	Brikama	Mandinka	80
5	Damfakunda	Kantora Fulbe	20
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	5 25
6	Fantumbung	Mandinka	106
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	4
		Tilibonko	4 114
7	Fatoto Tenda	Wolof	23
		Hausa (Sierra Leone)	1
		Syrian / Lebanese	1 25
8	Fatoto /Kukuyel	Jalunka	17
		Serahuli	27
		Basari	4
		Wolof	9
		Serer	6
		Jola	6
		Mandinka	47
		Jaxanke	27
		Tilibonka	32
		Bambara	45
		Fulbe- Futa Toro	80
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	129 429
9	Gambisara	Serahuli	196
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	27
		Jalunka	7 60
10	Garawoli	Serahuli	1352
11	Hamdalai	Bambara	43
		Futa Toro Fulbe	2
		Haminaabe	5 50
12	Heramankono	Bambara	60
		Serahuli	21
		Jaxanke	5
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	11
		Mandinka	5 102

13	Jabikunda	Mandinka	15	
14	Jau-kunda	Kantora Fulbe	185	
		Jalunka	4	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	5	194
15	Kantalikunda	Mandinka	88	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	22	
		Jaxanke	9	
		Tilibonka	19	138
16	Kaasi Kunda	Mandinka		163
17	Kebbekunda	Kantora Fulbe		97
18	Keneba	Serahuli	236	
		Bambara	23	
		Futa Tōro Fulbe	11	
		Mandinka	9	
		Haminaabe	18	297
19	Kewal	Kantora Fulbe		?
20	Koina	Serahuli	617	
		Haminaabe	76	
		Tilibonka	6	
		Bambara	14	
		Jaxanke	6	
		Mandinka	11	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	3	733
21	Kolikunda	Mandinka	15	
		Kantora Fulbe	38	53
22	Kristikunda	?		71
(23)	(Boys at school	- Susu	11	
		Aku	9	
		Mandinka	24)
24	Kukuyel	- see under Fatoto		
25	Kumbul	Kantora Fulbe		32
26	Kusun	Mandinka	15	
		Jalunka	10	
		Kaabu Fulbe	3	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	21	
		Jaxanke	5	54
27	Kuwara	Serahuli	26	
		Fulbe	31	57 (Type not ascertained- moved.)
28	Madina	Mandinka		44

29	Madina Fulakunda	Futa Jalon Fulbe	24	
		Bambara	4	
		Mandinka	50	78
30	Madina Kuta (Laibekunda)	Tilibonka	7	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	34	
		Futa Toro Fulbe	8	49
31	Misira	Serahuli	409	
		Jawando	69	
		Kaabu Fulbe	4	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	30	512
32	Nema	Kantora Fulbe	28	28
33	Niji	Mandinka	18	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	7	
		Jalunka	4	29
34	Nyamanari	Lorobe	42	
		Haminaabe	274	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	60	
		Jauwarinka Fulbe	3	379
35	Nyamanari Kuto (Tumbul Tanga)	Mandinka		13
36	Saare Baci	Lorobe	38	
		Haminaabe	20	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	2	60
37	Saare Mala	Mandinka	8	(now gone)
		Bambara	14	
		Nvooominka	3	
		Haminaabe	4	29 (now gone)
38	Saare Yesu	?	13	
39	Sabi	Serahuli		60
40	Sami	Mandinka		191
41	Sincu Fay	Kantora Fulbe	34	(now gone)
		Tilibonka	7	41 (at Fatoto)
42	Sonkunda	Mandinka		529
43	Sotuma	Mandinka	77	
		Bambara	7	
		Tilibonka	4	
		Futa Toro Fulbe	4	
		Jawarinka Fulbe	4	
		Serahuli	14	110
44	Suduwol	Serahuli		312

45	Temanto	Mandinka	46	
		Futa Jalon Fulbe	1	47
46	Tuba	Tilibonka		56
47	Welingara	Kantora Fulbe	37	
	(Samba Jawo)	Futa Jalon Fulbe	9	46

One informant states that the earliest Serahuli town was Suduwol. This was followed by Koina, then Garawol, Finally Gambisara and Misira were founded.

SPELLING OF PLACE NAMES

In early lists of villages the spelling is decidedly erratic. See the variations on Faring Tumbung.

In the 1920s there was a tendency to use double letters - Kussun, Kebbe Kunda.

In 1936 there was a much simplified system of spelling, using single letters.

Some of the variations:

1927	Sojara Bach	Heramankono	Farin D.Palch	Dula Bassi
1930	Sare Batch	Heremankorong	Faring Dala Pati	Duta Basi
1936	Sare Bach	Heremankora	Farindala	
1927	Sarra Malal	Charnum		
1930	Sare Mala			
1936		Chanum		

SUMMARY - ETHNIC GROUPS

1952-53

Serahuli	3302	46.6%
Mandinka	1610	22.7
Jaxanke	52	0.7
Bambara	210	3.0
Tilibonka	131	1.9
Jalunka	42	0.6
<hr/>		
Fulbe - Kantora Fulbe	471	6.7
Kaabu Fulbe	7	0.1
Roroobe	80	1.1
Haminaabe	397	5.6
Jawando	69	1.0
Futa Toro Fulbe	105	1.5
Jawarinka	29	0.4
Futa Jalon Fulbe	406	5.7
unspecified	31	0.4
	<hr/> 1595	<hr/> 22.5
<hr/>		
Wolof	32	0.5
Nyoominka	3	
Serer	6	0.1
Jola	6	0.1
Bassari	4	
Hausa (Sierra Leone)	1	
Syrian & Lebanese	1	
		<hr/> 0.1
<hr/>		
Missions at Saare Yesu & Kristikunda	84	1.2
(Include English, Aku, Susu...)		
	<hr/> 7079	<hr/> 100.0 %
	<hr/>	

DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIFIC PLACES

Fatoto

Gambisara

Kantalikunda

Koina

Kusun

Kristikunda

Peray/Piray

Saare Yesu

Sami Tenda

Sonkunda

Yaabutenda

FATOTO

This was an important center for trade, the leading traders being George Banna (of Lebanese origin) and his wife Mary, who opened a trading store there at the suggestion of Father Meehan who was then at Basse. (1930s ?)

It is now a 'ghost-town'. In Michael Tomkinson's Gambia, 1987, p.92, it is described thus:

"The market has signs of life; on the dramatic banks where the deep-cleft track ends, women wash, cattle wallow and a tiny ferry shuttles when it must. But in between there is little but dereliction. The premises of this once-flourishing trading station stand starkly photogenic but sad. Three colonnaded beside the track, three detached on the cliff top, they were impressively built. But their walls of brick or mortared stone, still in places plastered, are now ugly with graffiti; their crumbling tiled or red-brick floors are littered; concrete lintels top doorways long removed, and scales made by 'B. Trayvou...Lyon' rust in warehouses wide open to the sky. With the air of a Western ghost-town, this easternmost administrative^a centre now has more cows than humans."

- a. It was never an administrative center, only a trading center. (DPG)
He may have obtained this idea from a statement on the "Tourist Map of the Gambia." 1979.

Impressions of the place in the 1930s are given in Lady Southorn (Bella Sidney Woolf)'s essay "The Old Woman of Fattoto," West African Review, July 1938, 17-18.



RIVER SCENE FROM FATTOTO

3082

In Michael Tomkinson's Gambia (1987), p. 92, a photograph shows the road down to the wharf at Fatoto, and a ferry p.8.

D.P.Gamble collection. B.& W. sekko (of groundnuts) at Fatoto. (1953).

Kim Naylor : "Beyond the Beach: The Gambia," Geographical Magazine, 57(9), September 1985, 509-511.
has a photograph of the ferry at Fatoto (a factory boat).

Terry Palmer: Discover The Gambia, 1988. p.33 Fatoto ferry.
(Shows road down to the wharf.)

Postcard. Vessels at Fatoto Wharf.

GAMBISARA

H. Reeve: The Gambia, 1912, p. 132.

"A large town, a comparatively new settlement on the Seimo River, the people of which crossed to English territory from their old town in Fuladuqu after the boundary was marked through their lands in 1899, when part of the town was found to be in French territory. The population is between 2500 and 3000, and the greater part of it is in French territory."

KANTALIKUNDA. On map KANTALEKUNDA near Fatoto .

From C.W.Newbury: British Policy towards West Africa. Select Documents. 1786-1874.
p. 219.

Letter from W. Hutton to R.W.Hay... 1829

(sic)

"I also effected an arrangement with the Chief of Contacunda, in the Carbo [Kaabu] country, a place of considerable trade, sixty miles above Fattenda (Fatatenda), and on the opposite side of the river. Contalacunda being deemed a place of importance by the merchants, from its immediate connexion with Mana, Cardi, Colli,* Foota Jalloo, and other countries, celebrated for commerce, I did not consider that 50 dollars annually (or 10 sterling) to secure the friendship of the Chief of Contalacunda would be ill bestowed."

* Rio Mana, Kade, and Kalla ...on the trade route to the Futa Jallon.

Kantalikunda, at the junction of several important trade routes, was situated about thirty miles below Barakunda Falls....

Old spellings Fox (1851) Cantalicunda.

Mentioned in Anne Raffenet: Voyage dans l'Afrique Occidentale. 1846 , 489-490.
sp. Kantalicounda.

salt desired - exchanged for hides, ivory and wax.

p. occupied by Mandinka. Village 2-3 miles from the port. Was being
492

raided by Fulbe from Futa Djallon.

KOINA

Information about Koina is contained in Aldo Albert Benini's book
Community Development in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Upper River Division
of The Gambia, West Africa. 1980 .

p. 163 "Koina is the northernmost village in Kantora district. To the north and west, the Gambia river bounds its vast lands, which to the northeast run into the Senegalese-Gambian no man's land of the Barrakunda meander, A sand road connects

the village to Keneba and Fatoto to the south. In the 1880s, the chief of Kantora had invited a group of Serahuli at Diabugu in Sandu to join him in his depopulated district. Led by a member of the Gumaneh clan, they crossed the river at a point nowadays called Koina Tenda. Attracted by vast fallow land, Gumaneh made his people dig for water opposite the Brifu swamp. They settled around their first well, although the chief pressed them to move from the insecure bush further south under his jurisdiction. The Gumaneh and the other families sent for their relatives, particularly in the Casamance, to come and swell their ranks. Large numbers followed their slogan while later on some sections of Koina were to found villages in the Casamance. The Gumaneh sib...credited with the foundation, has since held the Alkaliya or village headmanship. Gumaneh households form...31% of the total village population. The founders have welcomed sections of another 18 patronymous clans... "

A Koina Rice Cultivation Plan was prepared in 1970...

KRISTI KUNDA (= Christ's Town) Kantora District .

This was an attempt to create a Christian community in an area inhabited by Muslims and pagans. In 1940, with the help of the District Chief (a Muslim), some 500 workers from 30 villages created a little village for the missionaries. The first house to be completed was 10 ft. in diameter, and on St. George's Day the Bishop celebrated Holy Communion in it, and dedicated it to the service of the sick. The Bishop's house was 12 ft. in diameter, built of split bamboos covered with mud, with a grass roof, and a floor plastered with cow dung. Eventually a tiny chapel was built in the middle of the hamlet. The aim of the community was to demonstrate better farming methods, develop local crafts, and provide basic education.

A team of six young men were the first settlers. One had been trained by the Agricultural Department, and led the farm work. One had been trained as a shoemaker, one was a schoolteacher, one was a carpenter.. Attempts at introducing a plough were unsuccessful because of the number of stumps in the ground. There was a problem with the water supply, and after two years the village was moved to a site with a better supply. J. C. Faye assumed control in 1944, and was ordained deacon in 1947. He became a member of the Kantora Local Authority, and represented the Upper River Division on the Legislative Council, & became the first Protectorate Member on the Governor's Executive Council.

In 1948 there were 157 people living there. There was a boarding school (mostly with children sent from Banjul), and a vernacular school, for local children. There were Girl Guides, Scouts, and Wolf Cubs. Local looms produced cotton cloth for school uniforms. There was a herd of cattle, donkeys, poultry, and sheep and goats. A dispensary was provided.

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Information derived from:

John Laughton: Gambia. Country, People and Church in the Diocese of
Gambia and the Rio Pongas. 1949. 48 pp.

West African Outpost. Round Gambia Diocese. 1949.

Kenneth Little "The organisation of Communal Farms in The Gambia,"
Journal of African Administration, 1(2), April 1949,
76-82.

S.H.M. Jones The Diocese of Gambia and The Rio Pongas. 1935-51.

KUSUN

Commissioner's Report -1933

"Kusun Tenda sometimes spelt Kossoun was at one time a flourishing port with European houses about 1½ miles below Fatoto which town was not then in existence- the remains of the foundations of some buildings and boundary pillars may still be seen there; as also the remains of a small brick building used by Mr. Henry F. Reeve."

Dr. Poole in his voyage up the Gambia about 1845 refers to Cosson (Kusun).

H. Reeve (The Gambia) 1912 writes.

" The flourishing port of Kossun nestles under the cliff with European houses and iron roofs, showing confidence in the permanence of its future as a trading station....The up-towns are Kossoun, Misera, and a large town called Gambissara-Kuta.." (p.38 photograph: view of river looking down from Koddoun)
(p.16 " view of Kossoun wharf from hill.)

Capt. Stibbs: Voyage up the River Gambia (1724)

p.269 Coussar Port
p.270 Cussane Port

".likewise destitute of houses or town near the river. Here I first observed, that for want of a canoa, they ferry over the river on a bark log, or float made of bamboos (canes).. About four miles before you come to this port is a sand(bank) which extends from the south side, almost across the river, on which is not above four or five feet water.

Recent article:

Manneh, Fatou Jaw
"Life in Kusoon: Kusoon women cry to Agric.Minister Jallow,"
Daily Observer, 15 March 1993, 1 & 14.

VIEW OF VALLEY FROM KOSSOUN CLIFFS

H.F.Reeve: The Gambia. 1912, opp. p.16.



VIEW OF VALLEY FROM KOSSOUN CLIFFS.

H.F.Reeve: The Gambia. 1912, opp. p. 38.



VIEW OF RIVER LOOKING DOWN FROM KOSSOUN.

PERAY/PIRAY

(Peraí, Prye, Peri).

Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684)

#49 "From the port of Fatatenda to the port of Pirai, which lies on the south side, is four leagues. Pirai's landmark is a poulão (cotton-tree) in the port. The route is this: once the port of Fatatenda is out of sight, head to the south side, and continue thus as far as the port (of Pirai). We trade in these ports on board the ship and even then with great caution. From the port of Pirai to the port of Cantor, which is on the north side and is called Same...is four leagues."

Capt. Stibbs: Voyage up the River Gambia (1724).

p.268 "We left Fatatenda, and in about five Hours anchor'd at Prye,... This port lies about three leagues above Fatatenda, on the south side the river, in Cantore, having no town nor house within two or three miles of it. Here is a fine rivulet, whose sands we search'd, sending our small canoa in for that purpose, which by reason of sunken trees, etc. could not go far. In it we caught some small fish like smelts..."

DPG: Notes (1953.)

"Peray is an old town. The Village head said that due to wars during the last century, the people had moved across the river to Sandu. About the beginning of this century people returned and rebuilt the town. They are Mandinka and Jaxanka. The population is about 300 people. An elder said that the town was now in Tumanna, but was originally part of Kantora, the hill west of Kundam then forming the boundary."

Insight Guides: The Gambia & Senegal. 1990.

p.170 "One diversion off the road...is the ghost town of Peraí Tenda, where abandoned shops and colonial trading posts testify to the prosperity of early riverside trading towns."

On the "Tourist Map of The Gambia (1979) it states: "In Perai Tenda at Riverside can be found a multitude of abandoned shops formerly operated by European, Gambian, and Lebanese traders during a time when the upriver commerce offered substantial profits for private traders. The principal trade was in groundnuts, roads were poor, and to some degree remain so even now, and most of the commerce occurred on the river. Thus riverfront sites were characteristic for trading firms...."

SAARE YESU (Kantora) = Town of Jesus.

"Eight miles from Kristi Kunda is Saare Yesu (Town of Jesus) where a European missionary has been working among the pagan Foulahs. Recently he has been joined by a European dispenser and by the priest who is also parish priest of Kristi Kunda. The idea here is to train, in the shortest possible time, a group of Foulah boys from Foulah towns within thirty miles or so, who will be able to start Catechism schools and medical work among their pagan fellow tribesmen...."

(West African Outpost: Round Gambia Diocese, 1949 ?)

SAMI TENDA

Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684)

#50 " From the port of Pirai to the port of Cantor, which is on the north side and is called..Same, is four leagues. The land and the port on the south side are called Cantor, and belong to the Farim-Cabo, but the people are very wicked. Hence we do not leave tavernas (traders) there. Nor do we buy there other than at the water's edge, although Cantor has much trade especially in the skin and hides of wild animals....

(=Kaabu)

Ships going further up-river make a payment to the Farim do Cabo at this point, this being a kind of tribute. His officials arrive to receive it, and they are never satisfied, because it is not a fixed sum, which would be better, and because those who arrive to receive it are men of the worst sort.

#53 From this port to the port of Baracunda is twelve leagues."

Capt. Stibbs: Voyage up the River Gambia. (1724)

"We proceeded (from Prye), towing the sloop and in five hours anchor'd at Samatenda, which is on the south side. Here I found the River to be 134 yards over, and the banks about 20 feet high. I now find the river begin(s to have sunken trees almost all over it. Here the land is low on the south side, but on the north side a rising ground, which a league beyond the port forms a high hill, running near two miles close to the river."

Samatenda ..is only a Port, where there is a small canoe to ferry over the river, with neither town nor house near it.

A Commissioner's Report (1933) states "Sami Tenda 7 miles below Fatoto was also at one time a Trade Port, but there are no records of it or signs of any remains today."

Reeve: The Gambia, 1912. opp.p.164. shows "Ironstone cliffs at Sami."

SONKUNDA Based on account given by Andre Rancon (1891/2) pp. 219-220.

Sonkunda was then the only large town in Kantora, having about 800 inhabitants. The town was situated in the middle of a wide plain overlooked by hills in the south-east, and very strongly fortified.

The fortifications consisted of:

- 1 An enclosure made of stakes firmly embedded in the ground and tied together with bark cord, to which were attached thorny branches. Behind this was a ditch.
- 2 Next came a second enclosure formed by a timber stockade, two meters high, with openings for guns, and another ditch behind.
- 3 A third barrier was a clay wall, $3\frac{1}{2}$ -4 meters high, 2 meters thick at the base, and 0.80 meters at the top. The wall had battlements at intervals, and there were recesses and salients.

Inside the village each section of houses was stockaded, the Mosque and the Chief's residence being doubly protected. All the houses were of earth with thatched roofs.

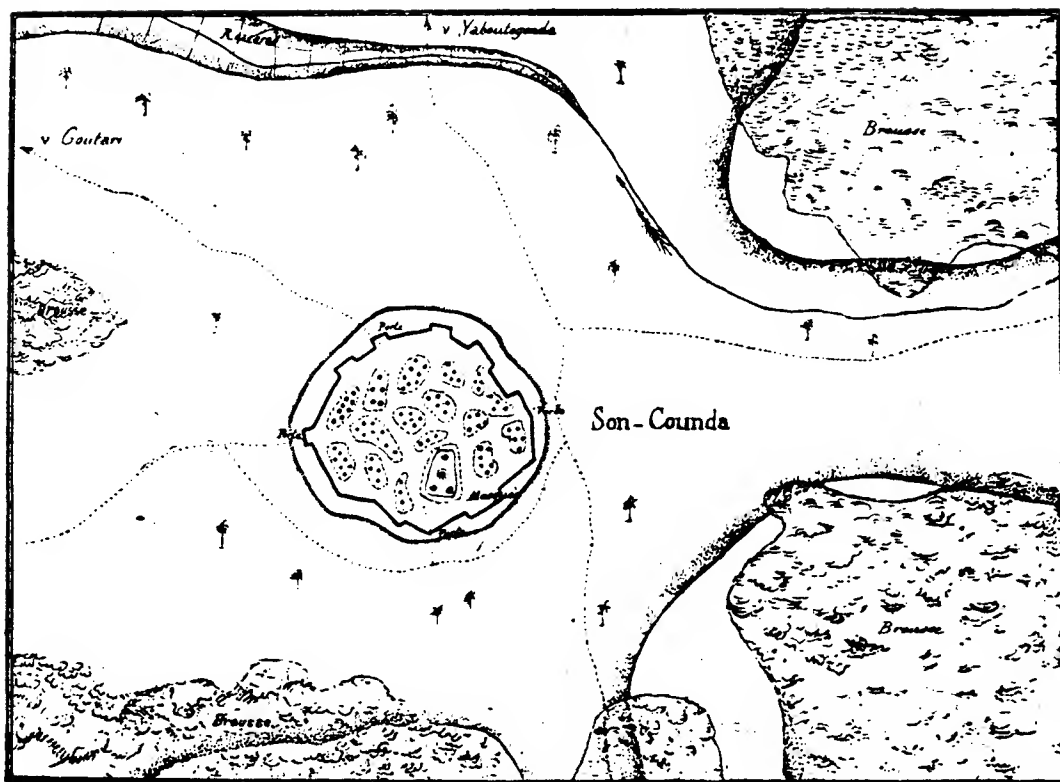
All this was for protection against Musa Molo and his bands of raiders.

When men left the town to farm, they went in groups, and were well armed.

A report by a Commissioner (1905) seems to be based on Rancon's account. "Sunkunda, a Mandingo village was strongly fortified in 1881 against Musa Mollo's attacks by a triple stockade; the outer line is formed by stakes deeply embedded, fastened by bark cloth, faced with thorn branches, and backed by a ditch; the centre is a double stockade of rounded timber, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, backed by a ditch and loop-holed; the inner is a crenellated wall of beaten earth $11\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 feet high, and 3 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. Only traces now, 1904, remain of this stockade."

A Commissioner writing in 1933 states: "The town of Song Kunda was once besieged by Alpha Molloh and Alpha Suri, Kings of Firidu and Futa, but there is some doubt as to whether it was ever conquered or not."

SON-COUNDA



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ANDRÉ RANÇON

YAABUTENDA

On old maps : YARBUTENDA. In French writings: Yaboutequenda
e.g. Rancon: 1894.

1. Capt. Stibbs: Voyage up the River Gambia (1724)

"We pass'd by another port on the south side call'd Yabutenda, about a league from Cussane (Kusun) Port, between which two places it is in a manner one continu'd high hill, rising directly from the river. On the north side, it is a large savannah, in which is a great lake.

2. The place is mentioned in the Annual Report for 1848, p. 70.

"The merchants are necessitated to entrust a large amount of their property to native agents, who are dispersed through the districts in the neighbourhood of the Gambia, frequently as far as Yabbatenda...These agents generally build a few huts, where they establish themselves, and pay a small annual custom to the king or chief man of the district...."

3. Yarbutenda was visited by Administrator V.S.Gouldsbury in 1881.

(Correspondence relating to the recent expedition to the Upper Gambia under Administrator V.S.Gouldsbury. London H.M.S.O., 1881. C-3065.)

The accompanying map shows it to be 18 river miles below Barrakunda Falls.

It was the trading port for Kantora, but had only about 6 traders' huts.

The river here was 120 yards wide, 2½ fathoms deep in the center. The banks were about 30 feet high and wooded.

On p.18 it is stated: "The wharf village of Yarbutenda was destroyed by the King of Bondou two years ago, and now consists of a few huts occupied by a trader belonging to Mr. Verminck."

4. Yaabutenda was ceded to France by a Convention in 1904 as a port, but no vessels except cutters and lighters went above Fatoto. The ceding of Yabutenda was part of the exchange for the fishing rights in Newfoundland. After the construction of the railroad in Senegal, parallel to The Gambia, interest in a port on the River Gambia waned.

5 H. Reeve: The Gambia, 1912 writes that it "is the highest point of steam navigation, or for all craft drawing more than eight feet in the dry season...The work of transport above Yarbu Tenda is done at present by cutters of five to six tons burthen, drawing two to three feet of water."

Reeve thought that the place name means "The port or wharf of the stranger (foreigner)" but I fail to recognize the language involved.

In 1909 the firms in Bathurst built factories on the bank, but they were only depots for groundnuts, the towns of Passi Massi to the north and Sonkunda to the south being the real centres of trade.

6 A Commissioner writing in 1933 stated that it had ceased to be a wharf town since 1924, all the buildings had been removed, and the whole place was overgrown.

FULADUU

Pages

FULADUU - GENERAL

45-61

FULADUU EAST

62-71

- | | | | |
|----------|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Sections | 1 | Eastern - Alunghari to Diabuqu | (= Tumana + part of
old Kantora) |
| | | 72-89 | |
| | 2 | Helakunda to Dembakunda | (Tumana + part of Jimara) |
| | | 90-98 | |
| | 3 | Bakadaji to Saare Boia | (Jimara) |
| | | 99-110 | |

FULADUU WEST

111-113

- | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | 1 | Sheet 18 of 1:50,000 map | (Jimara) |
| | | 114-131 | |
| | 2 | sheet 17 | (Jimara & Wuuropana) |
| | | 132-141 | |

The early accounts by Francisco de Lemos Coelho⁽¹⁶⁸⁴⁾ and Francis Moore (1730) indicate the essential features of the area.

(Wuropana)
Along the river were Uropina, Jimara, Tumanna, and Kantora - outlying kingdoms of Kaabu, originally dominated by non-Muslim Mandinka towns, generally strongly fortified. Dues were demanded at the first port in each kingdom before a vessel could proceed further.

In addition to the non-Muslim there were also Muslim towns - (Julakunda or Jaxanke ...traders and/or religious teachers).

The area also had Fulbe who were cattle keepers, and depended on the protection of the Mandinka rulers. Cattle had to be paid by them for this security, but if the Mandinka exploited them excessively, then the Fulbe were liable to revolt, and take revenge.

The general trade routes ran north-south, and the east-west route seemed beset both by physical difficulties - streams and swamps, and political boundaries, and the demands of local war-lords. Owing to the curves of the river the river journey was a long one, and travel by land, where practicable, took a much shorter time.

* The term means 'Country of the Fulas (Fulbe). It came to be applied to the region after Musa Molo's conquest. Phonetically it is Fuladuu, but in Government Documents and on maps, it appears as Fulladu, and Fuladu.

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa, writing of 1730, describes the three kingdoms of Eropina, Jemarrow, and Tomany, which correspond to the traditional kingdoms of Wuropana, Jimara, and Tumanna. The frontiers seem to have shifted from time to time as a result of local wars. 1

"Eropina, a petty kingdom, extending about 14 leagues along the river side. after which begins Jemarrow...". Leach's map (1732) show a town Eropina, one Moracunda (Muslim village), three Fula villages (Pholeycundas), Dear Islands, Paboon Island (now Baboon Island), and a town also called Paboon. The boundary with Jemarrow appears to be not far short of Sappo.

A modern map (1980) shows "Vouropana" just north of the Sofanyama Bolong over the border in Senegal, south of Famu Fana, and east of Tabanani.

It would seem that the area was unimportant for early traders, trade from the south going towards Dumasansang, and further north being served by the "Brucoe factory", up river from MacCarthy Island. The area seems to have been attractive for Fula settlers.

Next came "Jemarrow (Jimara), governed by an emperor who is a Munding; here the Company have a settlement near a large town called Brucoe (= Buruku) which is inhabited by people of the Munding race, but strict followers of Mahomet.

About half a mile below this town is a ledge of rocks dry at low water, which reaches from the northern shore 5/6 of the way over the river, and leaves so narrow a channel under the south shore, that it is very dangerous for large ships to pass it, and our sloops are obliged to take the opportunity of slack water to go through this place, which is called Pholey's Pass.

(See page 126).

In the same empire, about nine miles above Pholey's Pass, are a great many rocks, near a town called Dubocunda, which reach from the south side 2/3 across the river and about three miles above this, is another ledge of rocks, dry at low water, but there is a deep channel on the north side. This country runs about thirty two leagues along the river.

Then begins Tomany (= Tumanna), which is a very large country, consisting of more towns than any other which I know on the whole river. The Company have a factory at a small town called Yamyamacunda, which makes a considerable trade in dry goods, provided it is well supplied. A little below the town in the middle of the river, are some rocks, but never dry; and over-against the factory, on the north side the river, about half a mile from it, is a standing lake, about two miles long, which abounds in fish. This country extends up the river side about twenty six leagues, and is governed by a Munding, by name Hume Badgy.....

Above Tomany begins Cantore, in which, on the south side of the river, and about six miles below Fatatenda, is a town called Colar, six miles beyond which is the farthest I have been....."

- 1 Hecquard (1855) mentions that the people of Eropina, fearing an attack from 'Yemmarow' launched a pre-emptive strike of their own which resulted in the capture of most of their cattle and slaves, many people leaving 'Yemarrow' as a result. (p. 168).

LEACH'S MAP of 1732Jemarrow = JimaraSappo
+ port

Lemain Islands

Sabacunda

Brukoe
+ port

Dubocunda

Sandalacunda

Preef - see page 131

Parre (= Perai ?)

Ars Hill

Chaucunda

Pholeycunda = Fula town

Fattico town
portTomany = Tumanna

Yamyamacunda - see page 48

Sutema

Danuba

Basse town / port

Moracunda = Muslim town

Cassinamda

Burdah (King's town)

Findofate

Colar

Kantora

Pry

Modern maps

Sapu

=McCarthy Island
Lamin Island in earlier centuries.Not on present day map. In a 1902
list we find Sabbokunda. Sebokunda is
shown on the 1931 map at the head of
the Pachari Bolong.East of Boraba, NW of Bansang.
Small settlement at the present day
(Buruku).

Dobangkunda (east of Bansang).

not identified.

not identified.

a.k.a. Mamayungebi Hill

Chakunda

Fatako
probably site of Kosema

NE of Saare Sankuli, NW of Sotuma

Sotuma

Kanube

Basse

not identified - perhaps near
Tambasansang
Badari

Findefeto

Kulari

Perai

Winifred Galloway : A Listing of some Kaabu States and Associated Areas, 1980, provides some useful information about the states of Wuropana, Jimara, and Tumanna.

Wuropana . This became the home of the Sonko Yaabos. Sonkos and Danfas ruled there. People came to settle gradually but most of the settlers were Fulbe. The boundary between Wuropana and Nyamina was a valley between Tabanani and Jaroi.

Jimara. This consisted of five districts, each dominated by a fortress. The ruler of each was virtually independent, but acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sumaa Kunda Mansa, who in turn was answerable to Kansala.

(1) Sumaa Kunda . The towns around it included Bakadaji, Saare Kooke, Musanding Kunda, Saare Biram, Saare Njobo, et. al.

On the west Sumaa Kunda went up to Bansang, to the hill between the hospital and the town. On the east the boundary went up to where the Hella Kunda bridge is now. To the south Jimara continued up to Lake Chahee. There was in this lake a large white crocodile, the jalang of the Soninkees. The rulers were Maanes.

South of the border between Senegal and The Gambia was Korop, a strong fort, whose rulers came from Tumanna Sumaa Kunda. This fort was eight miles south of the border, at the head of the upper valley of the Casamance, and from it paths radiated to various towns in The Gambia, to Saare Boja, to Sumaa Kunda, to Hella Kunda, and on to Bannatenda and Kosema.

- (2) Koori Numu Kunda Surrounding villages include Sandii Kunda, on the other side of a rice swamp. This is where the tata (fort) was. Present day villages are Saare Boja, Saare Pate Bakari, Liike (Ligi) Kunda, Koro Julia Kunda. The rulers were Saanes.
- (3) Dobang Kunda Villages include Samba Takko, and Maane Kunda. The ruler was Dobang Maane, the village being named after him.
- (4) Baa Sansango^a = Bansang. Bantanto belongs to Baa Sansango (lit. river fortification), as do Maa Bali Kuta, and Maa Bali Koto.
- (5) Chaa Kunda Villages now around Chaa Kunda are Sabari, Madina, Santangto, Ndorna, Saare Soofi. The rulers were Saanes.

Tumanna

Galloway lists Tumanna Badaari ruled by Maanes from Tumanna Sumaa Kunda.

Basse Maanekunda was also a ruling town.

and Tumanna Sumaa Kunda also ruled by Maanes.

a. However, the old River Chart of 1942 shows both Barsangsang, with Bansang a little further up river (See pp. 113/114).

Part of Kantora had presumably been conquered by the people of Fuladū late in the 19th century. At any rate it was included in the Fuladū East District, when the British defined the District boundaries in 1902. The old boundary between Kantora and Tumanna was the ridge between Kundam and Basse.

All of the subsequent maps showing place names on the southern bank in Jimara, Tumanna, and Kantora - whether Dutch (1747), French (1756, 1802) or English (1794, 1842 etc), have clearly taken them from Leach's 1732 map. Travellers such as Mungo Park sailed up the river, and then marched overland from Pisanía on the north bank. Consequently no new information seems to have become available until the time of the Anglo-French boundary Commission.

THE WARS OF FODE KABA DUMBUYA.

The members of the Socio-historical Fact Finders Society have provided a useful account of Fode Kaba Dumbuya, whose activities destroyed the traditional rulers of Fuladu and elsewhere. (The Gambia News Bulletin, 8 May 1969, 2, and 15 May 1969, p.2). Notes from Commissioner's reports of the 1930s, and from Lamin O. Sanneh's The Jakhanke (1979), as well as from Christian Roche's articles have been incorporated into the outline in The Gambia News Bulletin. In 1976 Gordon Innes' book Kaabu and Fuladu: Historical Narratives of the Mandinka gave us the texts of three narratives by Bamba Suso- on Kaabu, on Musa Molo, and on Fode Kaba, and one by Ba Ansu Jebate on Musa Molo. It is difficult to be certain of all the raids and battles carried out by Fode Kaba and his military leaders and the order of these events.

Fode Kaba, born about 1818, was the son of Fode Bakari Dumbuya, and a Jahanke by origin. His father came from Bundu Gumbel, and settled for a time in Wuli at Koss. (Some say Badari.) Bamba Suso's narrative has him coming from Kapentu, and living in Kantora at Sun Kunda, not Wuli. They then went to Niani Dobbo, but did not get along with the people there, and crossed to Chakunda Fuladu, by way of Majabikunda. Chakunda was the settlement of a Soninke (non-Muslim) lieutenant who owed allegiance to Silati Kelefa Meseng, the then ruler (nyancho) at Sumakunda. Fode Kaba, after consultation with Kelefa Meseng, went to settle near the river and named his town Kerewan Dumbo Kono, (See Chart pp. 113/114) after the shape of the river. (Dumbo is a water jar in Mandinka). Many people joined him and he built himself a fort. His father Bakari Dumbuya was engaged in trade, and they cleared the bush on the bank of the river at a site called Pirif (probably close to Majabikunda). This place would seem to have been a port in Portuguese times. The traders and settlers at the port were required to pay taxes to Fode Kaba & Fode Bakari, as they were the owners of the land, in the form of food, guns, and gunpowder.

Kelefa Meseng felt that the people of Pirif should not pay taxes to Fode Kaba, but to himself, as he was the ruler of the area, so he sent his tax collectors through his lieutenant at Chakunda. Fode told them that they would receive nothing, for Pirif belonged to him. On hearing this the nvancho became angry and made preparations for an attack on Fode Kaba's stronghold.

Bakari Dumbuva asked the clerics of Bundu to look into the future for him. They predicted a major conflict, and he was advised to make an offering of a slaughtered bull to ensure success. This was sent to Dobang kunda, which was later to be one of his targets. He was able to resist the forces of Chakunda, and became determined to crush the regime of the infidel rulers and forcibly convert the people to Islam. The Jahanke at first supported Fode Kaba, as they saw the early conflict as preventive action, but when his operations expanded into a general aggressive war, their support became lukewarm, their philosophy being that Islam should be spread by teaching and example, not by force.

The first place he chose to attack was Dobangkunda (1855). Some people were taken as slaves, others decapitated, their heads being thrown into the Alikiyama Bamba Suso tells how he killed a princess in Kalipaaro. Bolong, south east of Bansang./He next attacked Chakunda, the seat of Jenung Nvancho's lieutenant. The village was burnt and many people were killed, though a few were able to escape to Sumakunda. He then set out for Sumakunda, and met the Nvancho's army at Koro, which he crushingly defeated. At Koro he captured 80 elders and told them that he was going to convert them. While they were sitting down, he would tell his soldiers to take one of them away and have his head shaved. They would take them one by one, but instead of just shaving them, they then cut off their heads. (This lead to the notorious phrase 'Kor' kung-livo,' the head shaving at Koro. Bamba Suso states that "even to this day in Kooro a man does not say, 'I am going to a head-shaving ceremony', he says 'I am going to a hair cutting (nyambo to)'" Eventually the only remaining man was Mamadu Nvanko, a blacksmith, and tradition has it that he secured his escape by flying into the air like a bird. From Koro, the marabout proceeded to Sumakunda where he killed the Nvancho who refused to be converted.

Keifa Meseng had sought the aid of a marabout, Abdul Khudoso, and he too was killed. Fode Kaba moved to Kamina Kori, which he also left behind him in flames. (though it might have been later)

It seems that at this point, he attacked Wuli, killing the ruler Mansa Wali. Bamba Suso describes how Fode Kaba crossed at Beretenda, and defeated the warriors of Wuli, with the help of forces from Saalum - horses and warriors.

He turned his attention to Kantora, on his way destroying Basse Maanekunda, Kundam, Badari and Mani. Sonkunda, the capital was under the control of Kutumandu Sanyang. (The kingdom then extended as far west as Kuto Kinka, a spring between Kulari and Sambakunda). Fode marched against Kutumandu's fort, but the defences were too strong, and Kutumandu succeeded in beating off his forces. Sonkunda is not mentioned in Bamba Suso's narrative, Fode returning to Kerewan after dealing with Badari and Kundam.

Fode's father remained at Kerewan, and did not take part in his campaigns though he apparently continued to give general advice. Fode ~~He~~ stayed for two years without being involved in further campaigns. But there was developing a rivalry with Alfa Molo, a Fula leader who had led a successful revolt against oppressive Mandinka rulers in the Kaabu. Trouble arose over a settlement in Jimara built by Ndikir, one of Musa Molo's army leaders. Fode Kaba, on the advice of his father, had gone to the north bank to seek help from the Wolof, especially Mori Mamadu (Momodu Ndari), who had succeeded Maba, killed in 1867. He is said to have entrusted his father to the care of Musa Molo before going off. While he was away the people of Chakunda urged Musa Molo to destroy Fode Kaba's fortifications at Kerewan. After some hesitation, he issued orders to take a large army, and raze the stronghold, but to withhold fire, and not kill anyone unless they were fired on. Inevitably Fode Kaba's people opened fire, and Musa Molo's people destroyed the town, killing Fode Bakari.

Fode Kaba learned the news when he was at Nyoro, and with his new allies crossed at Bambale (or perhaps near Toniataba), and went to Jaara. While he was at Sukuta, Alfa Molo offered an apology through one of his high ranking

officials, Yoro Jali, for the destruction of Kerewan fort, and offered to let him rebuild it, but Fode's heart was filled only with thoughts of revenge. Yoro Jali and his party were assassinated on their way back. Alfa Molo at once mobilised his forces to wage war on Fode Kaba, and hostilities between the two families continued till Fode Kaba's death in 1901, and bad feelings remained in the next generation.

Alfa Molo's forces seem to have been driven back to Tankona and Busenki, Fode Kaba advanced to Jarume and Pakawu, then to Kerewan (Pakau). Fode Kaba beseiged the town, but Musa Molo escaped first on horseback in a famous chase, and gathered forces which came back to aid Alfa Molo (who also seems to have escaped). Fode Kaba was beaten at Chaara. He then went to Jana in Pakau, but later came back to Jaara Sukuta, and began to attack Nyaamina Pinvai. He succeeded here, but the people of Katamina attacked him, and drove him back to Barokunda in Jarra. Fode Kaba attacked Kani Kunda, and then beseiged Soma for eleven months. After surrendering the people of the town were slaughtered. He then turned his attention to Seno Ba.

At one stage Jeenveri in Eastern Kiyang was beseiged. Kaiaf supported Fode Kaba. Musa Molo sent his forces to help Jeenyeri. They apparently retreated after a short stay. Fode Kaba's forces seemed to have made a foray into Western Kiang, where he destroyed Manduar, but most of the other towns supported him.

Most of his attention was in the south. In 1876 he attacked Balanta villages, but the French were able to curb his aggression. In 1877 he ravaged the villages along the banks of the Soungrougrou, killing or capturing Jola and Bainunkas. He destroyed Bapikoum, named the place Medina, and strongly fortified it. From there he continued his raids on Fognv and Kiyang, though the area bordering Kiyang, Kabada, largely inhabited by Fuuta Toro Fulbe, was hostile to him, allying themselves with Musa Molo.

In 1882 he attacked Sedhiou, but submitted to the French in 1887, which merely resulted in his turning his attention elsewhere. In Gambian Fonvi he

had a fort at Marige, but in 1892 the British organized an expedition against it, and he fled back to the Casamance.

In 1893 a treaty was signed with the French in which he agreed to cede Fonvi to France, and cease attacking the Jolas, but he still tried to control the British sphere of influence in Kiyang and Fonyi,.

In 1900 the people who had been responsible for the murders of two Commissioners and a Chief at Sankandi (Western Kiyang) had sought refuge with him at Medina. He refused to surrender the culprits, saying he would not deliver Muslims to infidels. In addition he had incurred the displeasure of the French authorities. Consequently a joint French-British expedition was organized against him. Musa Molo also joined in against his old enemy, providing carriers to supply the troops and 400 cavalry. The British had their forces deployed to cut off any flight to the north. The French bombarded the fort at Medina (March 1901), and Fode Kaba was apparently shot. His body was concealed from the French. He would have been about 83 years old when he died.

The Annual Report for 1888 gives the British Government's viewpoint.

"Vintan creek once an important trading district, produced large quantities of wax, hides, and ivory, is now all but abandoned and the people content themselves with the cultivation of sufficient rice and corn to supply the bare necessities of life. The result is principally owing to the internecine wars, the Jolas having always been a prey to the invading Mandingoes who endeavour to capture them as slaves.....

Fode Cabba...may be said to have sterilized a very large district, and made any permanent trading establishments in Kiang and Jarra out of the question. The man's existence is a curse to the neighbourhood. He lives by slave hunting and robbery. None of his neighbours, unfortunately, are strong enough to drive him out and he naturally attracts to his cause all the idle and worthless ruffians who prefer living on the industry of others, to doing any honest work for themselves. "

In January 1892 there was an expedition against Fode Kaba, who was driven across the Anglo-French boundary line. In April Toniataba was destroyed.

To some people at the present time Fode Kaba is regarded as one of the great leaders in the cause of Islam. But he left a path of destruction through the Gambia and Casamance, and if you were a ^{Fula}~~Fulbe~~, Balanta, Jola, or Bainunka your opinion about him would be different from that of his followers.

References.

- Roche, Christian "Les trois Fode Kaba,"
Notes Africaines, October 1970, 107-111 (#128)
- "Portraits de chefs casamancais du XIX^e siècle,"
Revue Francaise d'Histoire d'Outre-mer, 58, 1971, 451-467.

Among the publications of the Oral History Cultural Archives (Banjul) an interview with Bouli Sane (a Jola) shows how the Jola helped the French expedition find Fode Kaba. An account by Abdoulave Gissekhe and Maye Doumbouye deals with the movement of Fode Bakari to Gumbel, where Fode Kaba was born, their residence in Wuli, where they were robbed by Fulas, then to Niani. Help was given by the ruler of Saalum, and Fode crossed the river to attack Pakao. An account is also given of the siege of Jenyer (Jegnere), Kavaf joining with Fode Kaba's forces, and the King at Jenyer calling on help from Musa Molo's forces. Animosity between the Dumbuyah's and the Fulas continued to the next generation, a son of Fode Kaba, Musa Dumbuyah, became a government interpreter, and was always seeking to put down the Fula Chief, Chernob Balde.

MUSA MOLO BANDE

The major source for this summary is Charlotte A. Quinn's article "A nineteenth century Fula State," Journal of African History, 12(3), 1971, 427-440. She combines documentary materials (using some of my own files), with her own interviews with descendants of Musa Molo.

During the latter half of the 19th century, the Fulbe living in Tumana and Jimara revolted against the oppressive Mandinka rulers, led by Alfa Molo, who was an elephant hunter, and later his son Musa. The incident which precipitated the conflict was the seizure of a sheep by the Mandinka king at Kansonko. / ^{By 1874} they established a state known as Fuladu, extending from The Gambia, deep into the Casamance, with its capital at Ndorna.

In the Gambia there was a struggle between Musa Molo and Fode Kaba Dumbuva, in which Musa Molo's forces seemed to get the worst of it, but when Fode Kaba went on to Jaara, Kiyang, and Fonvi, the way was open for Musa Molo to consolidate his power in Fuladu, for the traditional non-Muslim rulers had all been destroyed by Fode Kaba.
(1883?)

After Alfa Molo's death in 1881, Musa Molo began to eliminate rivals within his own lineage, and build a vast political structure of his own. He built a town of his own - ^(Hamdallahi) (Hamdallie, while others from the family settled at Korop. He concentrated power in his own hands, and his will was carried out by personal agents, responsible only to him. Mandinka and Serahuli town chiefs were left in control provided they proved loyal, but he also appointed a number of chiefs of his own in key towns - Kerewan Samba Sire, Dobankunda, Basse (Hella Bande). Their duties were to collect taxes and settle local disputes. Appeals could be made to a group of influential headmen, generally Fulbe, chosen by himself. Besides the territorial chiefs and officials, he maintained a network of personal agents, spies, and messengers, to ensure control.

F. Bisset Archer: The Gambia Colony and Protectorate. 1906, p. 87.



DEMBO DENSA,^a
HEAD CHIEF OF
WESTERN BRITISH
FALLADI

MOUSA MOLLAH,
KING OF FALLADI
(OF FURDOU)

MARANSARA,
ONE OF
DEMBO DENSA'S
PRINCIPAL MEN.

Dembo Denso and Maransara were under Mousa, but since 1901 when Dembo's part of Falladu became British Protectorate, that chief has been responsible to the Colonial Government only. By far the larger part of Mousa's kingdom is in French territory, but he has lost control of it since 1903, when he took refuge under British Government.

^a i.e. Demba Danso.

Musa was a secular military leader, rather than a religious leader. For a time he had a personal Jaxanke cleric who performed prayers for him, but this cleric eventually broke away. Musa tolerated the spread of Islam among the Fulbe.

In 1883 he agreed to the French Protectorate, while still maintaining his own power. He manipulated French administrators and troops into putting down dissident elements. In 1886 he participated with the French in an expedition against Tubakuta on the north bank, but did not remain there, nor establish his rule over the area.

In 1898 the French claimed half of the taxes paid to him, and began to exert stronger control over his administration. In 1901 a French resident was posted to Hamdallahi. Musa cooperated with the French and British against his old enemy Fode Kaba, providing carriers and horsemen to service their forces.

In 1901 he agreed that the Gambian portion of Fuladu should come under British protection in return for a subsidy of 500 pounds per year - a higher sum than was paid to any other Gambian chief. He kept a close watch on the Gambian area, regarding it as a possible place of refuge from the French. Though residing in the Casamance he continued to make decisions regarding chiefs, headmen and court members in the Gambian zone.

However as the French consolidated their power, and began to exercise more control, Musa Molo decided to move to the Gambia (1903). This he did following an order to report to St. Louis in Senegal to answer charges of misconduct. He carried out a scorched earth policy as he went, destroying villages and cutting telegraph lines.

He then settled at Kesser Kunda (Keselikunda). After he had been resident a number of years, the British received complaints of the way he treated slaves and captives. He maintained a large number of so-called wives - some of whom fled and wanted their freedom. In 1919 his compound was raided and 126 women and

June 1901 (From Annual Report, p.73)

" Agreement signed by King Moussa Molloh and the Governor in which he agreed

- (1) that the portion of his kingdom lying within the British sphere of influence should form part of the Protectorate of the Gambia.
- (2) that a British officer should be placed in charge thereof.
- (3) that no buying or selling, nor trafficking in slaves should be permitted.
- (4) to discontinue and put a stop to all practices and punishments repugnant to the laws of humanity and civilization.
- (5) to authorise the government to impose and collect a hut tax in that part of the Protectorate.

In consideration of these conditions the Government agreed to pay Moussa Molloh the sum of £500 per annum. "

"The detention of Musa Molloh," See Gambia Government Gazette, XXXVI, No.29,
3 October 1919, pp. 241-242.

girls set free, Musa Molo being in Banjul at the time. He was exiled to Sierra Leone (1919), but was allowed to return in 1923. By now the British administration was well established, the warriors had turned to groundnut cultivation, and the economy was prosperous. Musa did not resume any official position, but still had high prestige among the people. He eventually died in 1931. In 1990 a mausoleum was built at the site of his burial. ("Musa Molloh: Kingship once again," Topic Gambia (Magazine), No.10, October 1990, p.18.

A detailed account of Alfa and Musa Molo's activities in the Casamance is to be found in The Balde Family of Fuladu, prepared by Gambia Cultural Archives, n.d. (1970s), 30 pp. See also narratives in Gordon Innes: Kaabu and Fuladu... (1976) by Bamba Suso and Ba Ansu Jebate.

CHERNO KADI BANDE (BALDE) - CHIEF OF FULADU WEST

Cherno Kadi Balde, a son of Musa Molo, became chief in 1924, succeeding Ansumana Danso who was dismissed from the position. He had had a varied career, having been employed by various Commissioners, and by a trader in Senegal. He had travelled to Lagos, had been a sailor in a cutter, and a 'coaxer' for a groundnut buyer. With the help of his employer in Georgetown, Keba Sidibe, who worked for the United Africa Company, and as Sidibe's employer, Mr. Christensen, as well, surprisingly, the Commissioner's interpreter Musa Dumbuya (a son of Fode Kaba), he was appointed chief on the recommendation of Major Macklin. He at once adopted the life style of a traditional ruler. When he first met Major Brooks (a later Commissioner) he came with 99 horses and a large number of griots. Major Brooks told him privately that if he travelled with a large escort, he could not see what was happening in the countryside - the state of the crops, etc. - that the villagers would have to bear a heavy burden in feeding his horses and followers. He should not maintain so many griots, for they could cause dissention within the family. He should avoid alcohol (except perhaps in the evenings), and so on.

Cherno seemed to follow these precepts pretty faithfully. Some of his underlings still made demands on villages, and cattle were often levied. But these tended to be used, not so much to enrich him personally, as to provide hospitality for the numerous strangers who came to see him. The same people who complained about their cattle being taken, praised his hospitality in the next breath.

Cherno remained chief until 1951. He was succeeded by Koba Leigh of Bansang in January 1952.

All the villages in this district were visited by motorbike in 1953/54. The naming of places on the map (1948 -1:50.000) was found to be very inaccurate, only the villages on the main road, and some of the major villages north of the main road, being named correctly. Of the small settlements south of the main road, many were either not named or misnamed. There were both errors in spelling, and unrecorded name changes. The population figures I used were presumably from 1952/53, unfortunately the sheets bear no date.

Maps consulted.

1732	Leach	
1905	TSGS No.1983	1:1,000,000
1931	No.1958	1 cm to 2.5 kilometres
1948		1:50,000
1956		1: 125,000 (Place names follow 1948 map)
1980		1:250,000
1942	River Chart	(Stops short of this area)

Area: 305 square miles.

As this is a large district it has been divided into three sections:-

- 1 The area from Alunghari to Diabuqu (Eastern section).
Part of this was originally in the Kantora chiefdom, the western section being Tumanna.
- 2 The area from Helakunda, Kanube, to Dembakunda (Tumanna).
- 3 Bakadaji to Saare Boja . Formerly part of Fuladu Central. Still spoken of as Jimara.

Present day Fuladu East consists of the old kingdom of Tumanna plus an area which was originally part of the old kingdom of Kantora, running from the hill on the road between Basse and Kundam to the Shima Simong Creek. It was called No.4 District, and was made a separate district by a Proclamation dated 19th February 1902. In the west it reached Sambelkunda on the Mansafa Bolong.

According to one tradition the Sane family of Basse Manekunda ruled Tumanna. Mankotoba Sane, who came from Puradu in Kaabu being the ruler. He was killed in a battle with the Fula ruler Alfa Molo (the father of Musa Molo), rulership then passing to the Fulbe. This tradition does not place the rulership of the Sane far back in time. Kelefameseng Sane succeeded, but he was killed in a battle with Fode Kaba Dumbuya, whose aim was to convert the non-Muslim Mandinka.

When the Protectorate was established, no effort was apparently made to find the original rulers of Tumanna. It seems that as a result of a discussion between Governor Denton, and Musa Molo, who had conquered Fuladu, they agreed that Falai Kora would rule from Suduwal to Helakunda, while the area from Helakunda to Sofaniama was given to Demba Danso. The Koras were from Tuba Kuta in Sandu, a rich trading family, and Falai was also married to a daughter of Musa Molo. Falai Kora took up residence at Tambasansang. He died in April 1911, and Mamadi Kora, the eldest son of Tanda Mamadu Kora was put in charge, but he was replaced by Kemo(nding) Kora, another son of Tanda Mamadu Kora in January 1912. Kemo was later removed from office, and Mamadi Kora was appointed in 1913. He also got into trouble, and was sent to prison for 12 months, after which he was banished from the Upper River Province. He died at Mandinari in Kombo in 1926.

The chieftainship then passed to Mansajang Balde (a rich cattle owner) of Saare Mansajang. He was an old man and became blind, and was succeeded by Jowara Kurubali, who had been acting for him, and was a court member.

Jowara was the son of Saraba Kurubali (a Tilihonko), who was one of Musa Molo's bravest warriors, and had been appointed by him as a leader at Walikunda.

Gambisara had been made a separate district in June 1901, and called no 5 District. It consisted of two large Serahuli towns, Gambisara and Numuyel. During 1905 about 1500 people left Gambisara and went to Kantora where they established a new town. In 1910 this district was absorbed into Fuladu East.

Before the appointment of Falai Kora as chief, control over the 'Kantora section' of Fuladu East was in the hands of the Manes of Badari, which was strongly fortified. (The notation on the 1948 map of 'a stone circle' is an error, the remains being those of a circular fortification.)

In 1932 a section of what had been Fuladu Central (created in 1919), was added to Fuladu East. This was about half of the old kingdom of Jimara.

Geography

The District was described as follows by T.F.G.Hopkins in 1939.

" The country is flat and the soil sandy though fertile. The area is well-watered, but owing to the low-lying nature of the ground, there are many swamps and much of the land near the river is liable to heavy flooding in the wet season. Ironstone ridges abound, some of them rising to a height of 100 feet. The heavy forest with which the country was formerly clothed has disappeared owing to the system of shifting cultivation, and has now become the 'orchard bush' type of forest, interspersed with stunted bamboo forest on the higher levels. "

Boundaries

The official description of its boundaries are as follows:

"Commencing at the junction of the River Gambia and the Santanto Creek and extending thence along the centre of the said creek to its source at a point $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in an east-south-east direction from the town of Cha Kunda, thence by an imaginary line in a south-south-east direction to a cairn of stones situated on the Cha Kunda-Basse road at a point $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a south-east direction from Cha Kunda, thence by an imaginary line extending in a south-west direction to a boundary pillar situated on the Anglo-French boundary about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a west-north-west direction from the town of Sare Boja Demmo, thence following the said boundary in an east-south-east and north-east direction to a point on the Simoto Creek at Gambisara, thence following the course of the said creek in a north-north-west direction to its junction with the River Gambia, thence following the left bank of the said river in a west direction to the junction of the Santanto Creek with the said river at the point of commencement."

Population

1944	20,500	Senior Commissioner, Assessment figures.
1945	24,265	
1946	24,192	
1947	23,484	
1948	23,721	
1949	26,192	
1950	29,401	
1951	28,289	
1952	30,154	
1953	31,386	
1954	32,110	
1955	32,802	
1956	31,059	
1957	28,863	
1958	27,615	
1959	n.a.	
1960	n.a.	
1961	36,792	
1962	n.a.	
<hr/>		
1963	28,388	Census
...		
1973	44,793	Census
1983	59,075	Census
1993	79,595	Census

Traditional beliefs associated with the major bolongs.

From a 1933 Report by the Commissioner, U.R.D.

1. "Porofu Bolon...At one time there was a famous crocodile which lived at the mouth of the stream at Basse. It is said that this crocodile could hear the steamers blow when they arrived at Kanube, and that it would then come to the surface and bark...

Another story is told, that three brothers who were strangers to the district went to the mouth of this stream to fish, but the crocodile frightened them away and they decided to kill it. They were warned not to do so, but taking no notice of the warning they managed one day to catch and kill it. In three days all three brothers were dead.

2. Sunkuta Bolon (Sunkutu Fa).

The name of this stream is said to be derived from sunkuto, a young girl and fa to kill. "Many years ago, every year at the fishing time, a young girl was offered to the spirit of the stream which was called "Sa", meaning snake. If the girl died it was a good omen for the fishing.

There is another story concerning this stream, i.e. Many years ago the people who fished this stream worshipped a crocodile which they regarded as 'the God of Fish' in that stream. Every year at the fishing time they killed a black bull and after it had been skinned, the head was wrapped up inside the skin and made into a bundle. Then one of the leading worshippers would wade into the stream with the bundle on his head and when up to his arm pits this sacred crocodile would come and take the bundle off the man's head. On seeing this the crowd would regard it as a good omen for the fishing.

3. Shima Simong.

There are two crocodiles in this stream both famous for their cry which it is alleged portends certain news. One lives above the bridge at Gambisara and its cry signifies either the arrival in the town of some one of importance or a death.

Another lives in the lower part below the bridge between Gambisara and Suduwol opposite Misera, and its cry also signifies the arrival of some one of importance or the sudden death of a man of fame in the neighborhood.

It is not good for anyone to see either of these crocodiles as they are both alleged to have poisonous and fatal sight, and if a person sees them he will die. The one near Misera was once seen by a native from old French Gambisara. He was an inquisitive person and vowed that he must see the creature. He did, and fell sick within less than three hours and died three days later. He described it as follows. It had a red ring round its head and an unusual dark colour around the neck with yellow bands or stripes along its sides and with eyes as red as fire."

ETHNIC GROUPING - FULADU EAST (1953-54)

The original Mandinka inhabitants have been swamped by more recent immigrants, especially the Serahuli, and the Fulbe, who come from both Firdu and the Fuuta Jalon. The Basse area in particular has attracted traders etc. from a wide variety of places.

The major groups are :	Basse to Kantora %	West of Basse %	Jimara East %
Mandinka	12.9	5.2	15.3
" Julakunda	3.1	6.4	4.6
Jaxanke	12.9	*	8.5
Bambara/ Tilbonko	3.3	1.4	1.5
Serahuli	34.2	57.0	7.6
Fulbe-			
Futanke	11.4	9.3	14.9
Futa Tooro	4.6	0.8	4.6
Firdu ¹	12.2	15.0	32.2
Dorobe (Lorobo)	2.7	4.4	7.8
Laibe	0.1	0.1	0.7
Jawando		0.1	0.3
others	0.3		0.5
Jalunka/ Susu	0.7	-	*
Wolof	0.7	-	0.7
Hausa	0.5	-	-
Others	A 0.4	*	B 0.7
	100.0	99.7	99.9

* = less than 0.1%

¹ includes Jombonkaabe (Kantora Fulbe)

A Others include: Aku, Balanto, Mosi, Mauritaniens, Koniaji, Syrian/Lebanese, Manjogo, and Serer.

B " " Mosi, Balanto, Mansuwanka.

During the period of field work in the Upper River (1953+) numerous photographs -both slides and black and white photographs were made of the following places.

BASSE

MAANEKUNDA (Mandinka)
 KUMBIJA (Serahuli)
 KUNDAM (Fulbe)
 SAMBAKUNDA (Doroobe) (Fulbe)
 MANSATANGKUNDA (Fulbe)

Photographs in Michael Tomkinson's Gambia:

- p.91. Women selling pottery on river bank at Basse
 Ferry at Basse
 p.92 Groundnut tug & lighter loading
 p.93 Home by boat with pots bought at Basse market
 p.62 Pots from Alohungari at the Thursday-morning market, Basse

Major items in D.P.G's collection:

B & W. 1945 Photograph by C.D.Forde of old Commissioner's Round House
 (The foundations are still to be seen in the garden of the present house).

Slides/Color (DPG)
 1972 Ferry at Basse
 1972 River steamer (Lady Wright) at Basse wharf
 1979 View up river from Basse
 (Linda Salmon)
 1974 Ferry and wharf town from North Bank
 1974 Old UAC House from North Bank
 1974 Trader's shop with dwelling quarters above, on River Bank

Agfacolour

1953 Governor's yacht at Basse wharf

THE COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE AT BASSE, 1945.

Photograph: C. Darvill Forde.

(The round base of the house still can be seen in the front garden of the present house.)



FULLADU EAST (SECTION 1)

(1) Section from Alunghari to Diabuqu.

Key reference points. Basse. Kundam. Kulari, Perai

main road. old main road.

Kumbija Bolong. Prufu Bolong

* Further details later.

AFIA	also known as Sincu Kikala -south of Prufu Bolong. came from Baniko	Futanke
ALUNGHARI	main road , west of Basse	Serahuli
ALUNGHARI ABDU	south of Prufu Bolong	"
* BADARI	old Mandinka town. North of main road	Mandinka
BAJON Mamadu Balde	Near frontier, SE of Basse = Sincu Mansa on 1948 map	some Fulbe, now mainly Serahuli
BANDE YA	beside Bangasiya	Futanke
BANGASIYA	south of Prufu Bolong , from Saare Bona	Fulbe
BANI	see Kerewan Sila	
BANJANGARA =	Sincu Nyokala south-east of Sabusire	Balanto
BANIKO ISMAYLA	south of Prufu Bolong , from Korop	Fulbe
BANTANG KILING -	= Saare Brayma Musa , SW of Basse	
* BASSE SANTA SU	main road	mixed
BASSE JULAKUNDA	= Basending - main road	Mandinka
BISANDU (DUGU)	near frontier. south of Kulari	Futanke
CAMOY (CHAMOI)	East of Basse, north of main road	Jaxanke
DAMFAKUNDA	north-east of Basse	Jaxanke
DANDUU (DANDUGU)	north side of Prufu Bolong	Futanke
DASILAME JULEN =	Saare Juley (Darsilami) . from Kulari south of main road. east of Kundam	Serahuli Futanke
DASILAME SAJO =	Sajakunda main road, from Tuba (Sandu)	Jaxanke
DASILAME KEKORO	south of Prufu Bolong .from Dasilame	Serahuli
DIABUGU ALFA (SAARE ALFA)	near main road	Futa Toro Fulbe
DIABUGU BA SILA	south east of Diabuqu Alfa from Sandu.	Serahuli

DIBASI HELA	South of Prufu Bolong . SW of Dandugu	Fulbe
DINKIRAY =	Saare Saibo (south of Wassadun)	Tilibonko
=	Tengkuli on 1948 map (South of Perai)	
DINKARIN	from Kulari. Near frontier	Serahuli
* FINDIFETO	wharf. South-west of Kular	
GIROBA KUNDA	main road, east of Basse	mixed
KABAKAAMA	east of Basse	Mandinka/ Futanke
KARANTABA	south-east of Perai from Kerewan (North bank)	Jaxanke/Mandinka
KENEBA	north side of Prufu Bolong from Tuba (North bank)	Fulbe (Lorobo)
KERESE NANI =	Ker Singati . south of Kulari	Serahuli/Futanke
	also known locally as Saare Garaba	
KEREWAN SILA =	Banu Kunda (1948 map). on old main road. east of Perai	Fulbe/ Tilibonko
KISIKISI	north of Prufu Bolong from Kurau (North bank)	Jaxanke
KOBAKUNDA	main road. west of Basse	Mandinka + Fulbe
KOBOTO (Keba Dem)	south of Kulari	Lorobo
KOBOTO= Madina	" " "	Serahuli/ Fulbe
KOJENKENA	near Kumbija Bolong , SE of Sabuseri)	Futanke
KOLIKUNDA	south of Kulari	Fulbe (mixed)
KONJALA =	Kunjala (1948 map) . north-east of Sabi from French - Bantanto	Fulbe
* KULARI	near river	Serahuli
KULINTO MAUNDE (MAUNDE ?)	north of Prufu Bolong	Fulbe
KULINTO WALI	" " " "	"
KULUKULE	north side of Prufu Bolong	Jaxanke
KUMBIJA	south-east of Basse	Serahuli
KUNDAM FODE	north of main road	Fulbe
KUNDAM MAFATI	main road	Mandinka
KUNDAM MBALOKUNDA	north of main road	Fulbe
NGATARA KUNDAM	" " " "	Fulbe

KUNJALA	Near Kumbija Bolong	Fulbe
KUNKANDI	North of Prufu Bolong . Near frontier behind Sanunding	Fulbe
MADINA JANBARA	south east of Perai . from Diabugu	Serahuli
MADINA TO SALAM	near Saare Firasu . from Baniko Ker Koro.	Serahuli
MADINA YORO JALO	west of Chamoy	Fulbe
MAMPATAYEL	south of Basse ,near frontier	Fulbe , Bambara
* MAANEKUNDA	south of Basse, Originally at Basse Santasu	Mandinka
* MANSAJANG-KUNDA	south-east of Basse	Fulbe/Mandinka
NDIMBO	south of Perai , near main road from Farato (Wuli)	Lorobo
NIJI	near frontier . west of Dinkarin	Mandinka/Fulbe
PERAI	near river	Mandinka
PERAI TENDA	wharf town	
SABI	south of Basse . from Sandu Dasilame	Serahuli
SABUSIRE	east of Basse	mixed
SALIKENYE (Fula)	south-east of Perai	Fulbe
SAMBAKUNDA	on main road . ancestors from Limbambulu	Lorobo
SANUNDING	north side of Prufu Bolong . from Bundu	Jaxanke
SAARE BONA	near Kumbija Bolong (group of hamlets)	Firdu Fulbe
" BULAMA	gone (People went to Kundam Fode)	
" DULO	near frontier. South-east of Basse	Firdu
" FIRASU	" " " " "	mixed
" JULEY =	Darsilame (1948 map)	
" GELA	south-east of Perai, near frontier	Fulbe (mixed)
" LALO =	Saare Samba Sabali . close to Afia	Fulbe
" MAMADI	on map as Yoro Cheke	
" MUSA	south of Prufu Bolong. west of Sabi	Fulbe
" PIJA	across boundary in Senegal	
" SACO =	Tabanding Sacho . from Saare Boido	Firdu Fulbe
" YORO BA =	Njarin Jufa on 1948 map. near frontier. south of Perai	Lorobo
" YUTO SO =	Saare Mbai = Sare Mbye (1948 map) south of Kulari. near main road.	Lorobo

SAARE YORO CHEKE	= SAARE MAMADI	Kumbija Bolong	Fulbe (Futa)
SAARE BRAIMA	= Bantang kiling	- south of Alohungari from nr. Sabi	Fulbe (Firdu)
SENDEBO		South-east of Perai	Fulbe
SINCUSARADU	= Bari Kunda.	north side of Prufu Bolong	Fulbe (Firdu)
SISEKUNDA		north of main road. south of Kulari	Mandinka
TABAJENKI	= Saare Sambel.	south of Prufu Bolong	
TABANDING		South-east of Diabugu	Futanke
TAMBASANSANG		near river	Mandinka (Jula)
TEMANTO SANA		east of Sabi, between Saare Yoro Cheke & Saare Firasu.	Fulbe
TEMANTO TALO	=	Saare Talo = Sambantalu on 1948 map near frontier west of Dinkarin , from Kolinto	Futanke
TENKOLI		south-east of Perai. near frontier from Wuli Tuba	Lorobo
TINKINJO		west of Prufu Bolong , from Chamoy near main road	Jaxanke
TUBA TAFISIRU (TUBA TAMSIR)		near Kumbija Bolong	Jaxanke
TUBA KUTA		on old main road to Fatoto	Mandinka
WALIBA KUNDA		on old main road	Firdu Fulbe
WASSADUN = Njayel		south of Perai	Tibibonko
WELINGARA BAMORI		south-east side of Perai near frontier	Lorobo
WELINGARA SAMBA TAKO		near Basse, on main road east of Basse	Firdu Fulbe
YORO CHEKE		SEE Saare Mamadi	

POPULATION - FULADU EAST SECTION 1 .

The Census data does not provide figures for villages of less than 100 people

	Assessment		Census
	1938	1953 ? 1952 ?	1973
Afia (Sincu Kikala) (Baniko Kikala)	62	58	
Alunghari	927	1221	2420
Alunghari Abdu (Originally a farming village)		40	169
Badari	153	181	364
Bajon (Founded 1937)	25	280	379 (Fass Bajon)
Bande Ya			
Bangasiya	27	20	
Banjangara (Sincu Nyokala)	6		
Baniko Ismayla	62		102
" Kekoro			435
" Jimara			111
Bantang Kiling			
Basse Santasu		760	2899
Basse Julakunda	66	35	
Bisandu(gu)	173	261	209
Camoi (Chamoi)	188	203	319
Damfakunda	677	905	1732
Dandu(gu)	97	137	129
Dasilame Julen (Saare Jule)	242	241	
Dasilame Kekoro	217	408	see Baniko Kekoro ?
Dasilame Sajo (Sajakunda)	87	82	
Diabugu Alfa (Saare Alfa)	413	502	883
Diabugu Ba Silla	141	262	537

	1938	1953	1973	
Dibasi Hella	21	17		
Dinkiray (Saare Saibo)	18	10		
Dinkarin (Dinguri)	373	640	1147	
Findifeto				
Giroba Kunda	158	139	247	
Kabakama	198	324	720	
Karantaba	34	60	104	
Keneba	149	73	119	
Kerese Naani (Ker Singati) (Saare Garaba)	18	10		
Kerewan Silla= Bani Kunda	82	96		
Kisikisi	86	63		
Koba Kunda	101	187	247	
Koboto (Keba Dem)	41	11	106	
Koboto = Madina				
Kojenkena (Founded 1937)	19			
Kolikunda	63	170	203	
Konjala	14	29		
Kulari	846	958	1859	
Kulinto Maunde	51	76	105	
Kulinto Wali	24	24		
Kulukule	91	111	288	(Kulkuyel)
Kumbija	304	362	896	
Kundam Fode	46	76	229	(Presumably include other Fula Kundams)
" Mbalokunda	58	32		
Ngatara Kundam	76	143		
Kundam Mafati	320	475	612	
Kunjala				
Kunkandi	33	54		

	1938	1953	1973
Madina Janbara	130?	224	
Madina to Salam		36	
Madina Yoro Jalo		15	
Mampatayel	41	12	175
Maanekunda	243	288	817
Mansa'iangkunda	395	444	951
Ndimbo	33	65	
Niji	160	195	213
Peray	370	288	557
Sabi	1088	1195	3377
Sabusire	163	193	179
Salikenye	38	36	
Sambakunda	39	71	
Sanunding	249	331	495
Saare Bona	90	111	
" Braima (Bantang Kiling)	166	67	
" Buluma (gone)			
" Dulo	43	77	
" Firasu	151	374	325
" Gela	179	143	148
" Jule = Dasilame			
" Lalo (=Saara Samba Sabali 9		11	
" Musa		17	
" Saco (Tabanding Saco)	31	31	
" Yoro Ba (= Njaren Jufa ?)	19	158	
" Yuto So (=Saare Mbay)	7	20	
" Yoro Cheke	22	11	
Sendebo	63	81	
Sincu Saradu= Bari Kunda		41	
Sisekunda	99	71	

	1938	1953	1973
Tabaienki (=Saare Sambel)	61	42	
Tabanding	28	15	
Tambasansang	326	391	649
Temanto Sana		14	
Temanto Talo (Saare Talo)	33	51	
Tenkoli	60	41	
Tinkinjo	98	116	205
Tuba Tafisiru	144	185	320
Tuba	128	189	226
Walibakunda	180	186	320
Wassadun = Njayel	66	151	154
Welingara Bamori	18	21	
Welingara Samba Tako	32	42	

SPECIFIC PLACES

ANDIERI TENDA

BASSE

BADARI

KULARI

FINDIFETO

MAANEKUNDA

MANSATANGKUNDA (SAARE MANSATANG)

ANDIERI TENDA

This is mentioned by Poole (1850) as Anderee. (p.170, 188).

Andieri appears on the 1912 & 1926 maps.

It is up river from Basse, and would seem to correspond to the place
now labelled Madina Wharf.

BASSE

Francis Moore (1732), p. 119

"This port of Bassy lies in the kingdom of Tomany, on the south side of the river Gambia, about a tide and half above Yamyamacunda by water, and about fifteen miles by land; all the way to it is very woodv, and in the midst there is a steep hill full of rocks and trees."

p. 136 "...about ten miles from Kanuba, which has also got a fine port for trade, to which a good many canoes come every season."

Reese wrote in 1912 (p.135)

"..In Tomany...on the left bank, is at the point of one of the deepest bends in the river... (it) is due to a submerged reef without a frowning cliff above the river. The ironstone hills, however, occur a short distance away from the bank, so that the reef in question may be taken as a lower rock formation of these.

Bassy is one of the most important collecting centres for groundnuts in Fuladuou, and is the port of a large area of cultivable land. It has no important up-town, but a large number of villages spread over the arable valley behind it. All the large firms in Bathurst have branches at this port, and in the season small mountains of groundnuts are built up in every factory yard awaiting transport to McCarthy for shipment on ocean-going steamers."

Articles, reports etc.

Sillah, M.B. "People pour in as Basse keeps on growing,"
The Gambia News Bulletin, 12 August 1976, 2.

Ministry for Local Government and Lands, Department of Physical Planning
Physical Development Plan for Basse. ✓
1985. 49 pp.

"Basse: A commercial wonder waiting to happen,"
Topic Gambia Magazine, 2(5), May 1990, 8-11.

In 1946 the Commissioner, Upper River Division, wrote:

"The river covers large areas of land west of Basse with swamps when it overflows its banks in September and October. The approaches to Basse Wharf Town itself are inundated as far as 540 yards from the wharf and travellers have to make use of canoes and factory boats. Government wharf itself is inundated to a depth of ten or more feet and the river steamers tie up lower down opposite to Palmine Factory where there is higher ground. On the south side of the river the general tendency is for the land to rise gradually for two to three miles, and then climb sharply to a succession of low laterite ridges of considerable and slightly undulating depth until the frontier is reached... "

At present Basse has a Public Works Department, a cotton ginnery, a Veterinary Department Camp, a Post Office, a Secondary Technical School, an Anglican Church, and Banks.

Rod Ward: A Birdwatchers' Guide to The Gambia (1994) has a section on Basse ^t Sana Su, pp. 84-88.

(1995)
Jim Hudgens & Richard Trillo: West Africa: The Rough Guide, p.289 has a section on accomodation etc. in Basse.

NEW COMMONWEALTH: SPECIAL FOCUS FEATURE: GAMBIA, D. 457. (1967)



The River Gambia is the spinal cord of the country and becomes, in the trade season, a busy waterway full of loaded groundnut cutters and lighters bound for Bathurst.

Also # 350, p 9 1971 (Russian)

#337 THE GAMBIA. 1965.

Original colored



Basse Wharf

*Apr. 21, 1969. The river flows
the river for the first time since 1963.
The left bank is a small island.*

sm. b & w. #2189 "Letter from Up-River," West Africa, 5 April 1969, p.377.

BURDAH (Moore. 1732) p. 136

= BADARI

"...a small town called Burdah, where the usurper of the Kingdom of Tomany resides."

p. 139 "Between Burdah and Bassy I rode over the steepest hill I ever saw in my life, almost a continual rock of iron stone, and yet full of trees. "

Hecquard in 1855 passed through Badari.

p.185 "...nous fîmes un détour pour aller saluer le chef de Badari. .. sa demeure..est entourée d'un tata assez haut et formant un carré parfait, à chacun des angles duquel est une espèce de tourelle d'un étage dont les murs sont crénelés ...". Son territoire s'étend depuis la Gambie jusqu'au marigot de Badari. "

DPG last visited Badari in July 1972. Slides #437 & 438 show the old fortifications.

COLAR (Francis Moore, 1732) = KULARI

p. 136 "a town in the kingdom of Cantore...."

Under British administration this segment of Kantora was made part of Fuladu East.

FINDIFETO

South Bank. Fuladu (East of Basse)

- (1) Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684)

p. 22, para 48. (=Nyakov)

"From the port of Nhacoi/to the port of Findifeto, which lies on the South side, is six leagues. The people of the land are evil, as all of them are upwards from here on the South side. Hence on this side up-stream we never left tavernas (traders), because the blacks are wicked, being thieves and robbers."

- (2) Reeve: The Gambia. 1912

p. 135 "Finde-fato, the port of the stronghold of Kulari (where the Mandingos embarked in their war canoes for the conquest of the Niani, on the right (north) bank has lost its ancient glory."

- (3) Bella Sidney Woolf (Lady Southorn), 1938, describes it thus:

"Findi-feto, a typical small wharf town with its heap of groundnuts and two stores and many donkeys which had brought in the groundnuts."

(West African Review, July 1938)

Fundo Feito in Portuguese means Bottom Struck. The name seems to have been applied to several places where shoals and rocks hindered navigation.

The spelling of the name in 19th. century writers is very inconsistent.

Poole:	1850	Finda Fati (p.153), Findi Fatali (p. 191)
Hewett	1862	Finda Fate (p. 276)
Reeve	1912	Finde-fato

Hill beside MANDEKUNDA village, near Basse
Dry season.

Photograph by David P. Gamble Agfacolor.



MAANEKUNDA

A Mandinka town, a couple of miles from the river, behind Basse.

The village was originally nearer the river in the direction of Kabakama, and was moved from Santasu early in this century.

Population in the 1950s about 300 people.

Photographs

DPG Collection. Photographs of the village Slide #457)

and of the hill close to the village. (Slide #458

Numerous photographs of the village (B & W).

MANSAJANGKUNDA (SAARE MANSAJANG)

Situated about a mile south of Basse, on the main road which runs south to Welinqara in the Casamance, and close to the junction of the road running east to Fatoto.

A Roman Catholic Mission, with a prominent school, is located just outside the village, east of the road. To the south is the Administrative area, comprising Divisional Headquarters, and the housing of Government Officials. The original Commissioner's house was a famous round house, the foundations of which can be seen in the garden of the present day compound.

The village has both Mandinka and Fulbe sections.

FULADU EAST - SECTION 2.

Helakunda - Kanube - Dembakunda (West of Basse)

Brefet = Nafugan Modi	swamp edge NE of Kanube	
Bakari Jali Kunda	east of Numuyel	Mandinka
Daba kunda	near main road	Bambara
Dembakunda Bahawa	north of Moribugu from Gambisara	Serahuli
Dembakunda Ngalen) Kemo)	" " " from Wuli Fodekunda	Julakunda
Fulamori Boci (Saare Boci)	south of Helakunda west of Gambisara	Firdu Fulbe
(1960s map shows it near the river)		
Gambisara	near frontier	Serahuli
Gambisara Fula Bondoh	north east of Gambisara	Firdu Fulbe
Hela Kunda	main road (Bambara origin)	Mandinka/ Bambara / Futanke
Jalali Mbay	south of Helakunda	Firdu Fulbe +
Jalokunda	west of Gambisara from Sandu- Saare Demba	Lorobo
Juburruva - see Saare Juburu		
* Kanube Julakunda	main road. from Jufure	Mandinka (Jula)
* Kanube Tenda	wharf on river	
Madina Jamboy = Saare Jamboy	SE of Sotuma	Futanke
Moribugu	near boundary	Serahuli
Nafugan Jawando	main road	Jawando
" Jomel	" "	Firdu Fulbe
" Mody = Brefet (48 map)	north of main road	Lorobo
" Pate	main road	Firdu Fulbe
Nimataba / Simbanda	near frontier SE of Moribugu	Serahuli/Firdu Fulbe
Numuyel	south of Kanube	Serahuli
Saare Jambai = Madina = Saare Jamboy		
Saare Jata	west of Numuyel	Firdu

Saare Jaube	near frontier. west of Gambisara	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Juburu / Juburukunda	north of main road . from Bundu	Lorobo
Saare Samba Mabo on 1948 map as Gambisara Jawor	north east of Gambisara	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Samba Tako	north east of Gambisara near Sunkutufa bolong	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Sankule/ Sankulekunda ^a	north of main road from Changali (North bank)	Lorobo
Sambelkunda (1948 map)	gone	
Simbanda = Nimataba	near frontier. SE of Moribugu	
Sotuma Jawara	main road	Mandinka
" Seeni Kande	north west of Sotuma Sairy	Firdu Fulbe/ Futank
" Sairy	main road	Serahuli /Mandinka
" Samba Koy	main road	Firdu
Tabanding Sacho	south of Sotuma	
Talto Luntang	east of Numuyel	Mandinka/ Futanke
Talto Musa	east of Numuyel	Julakunda (Mandinka
Talto Wasa	east of Numuyel	Firdu Fulbe
Welingara Mansali	south of Helakunda	Firdu Fulbe
" Kube	= Saare Mamadu (north of main road = Mamadu kunda (NE of Kanube from Wuli- Saare Ilo	Firdu Fulbe

a Not to be confused with the Sankulekunda south of Georgetown.

Population

	Assessment 1938	Assessment 1952?	Census 1973
Brefet = Nafugan Modi			
Busura	85	98	150
Bakari Jali Kunda	23	22	
Daba Kunda	12	13	
Demba Kunda Bahawa	141	163	465
Demba Kunda Ngalen (Kemo)	52	68	117
Fulamori Boci (Saare Boci)	63	102	
Gambisara	1006	1744	3646
Gambisara Fula (G.Bondo)	35	41	
Helakunda	155	191	211
Jalali Mbay	133	84	
Jalokunda	19	42	
Kanube Jula Kunda	265	277	365
Kanube Wharf (K.Tenda)	7		
Madina Jamboy (Saare Jamboy)		57	
Moribugu	596	541	1686
Nafugan Jawando	5	8	
Nafugan Jomel	30	62	
Nafugan Mody= Brefet	19	72	110
Nafugan Pate	35	46	
Nimataba (Founded 1930)	67	52	
Numuyel	565	714	1508
Saare Jambay (= Madina Jamboy)			
" Jata	13	76	
" Jaube	30	106	
" Juburu (=Juburuva) (=Juburukunda)		21	
" Mamadu - see Welinqara			

	<u>1938</u>	<u>1952?</u>	<u>1973</u>
Saare Samba Mabo		44	
" Samba Tako		83	
" Sankule (Sankulekunda)	188	151	194
Sambelkunda -gone			
Sotuma Jawara	36	24	
" Seeni Kande	98	102	116
" Saire (Sire?)	193	283	405
" Samba Koy	56	97	206
Tabanding Saco			
Talto Luntang	60	121	
" Musa	5	15	
" Wasa	36	29	
Welingara Mansali (Saare Mansali)	124	74	
Welingara Kube (=Saare Mamadu)	60	48	

SPECIFIC PLACES

KANUBE

SOTUMA (Old Sutamore)

VAMVAMACUNDA (No loner existing)

KANUBE Fuladu East District. Down-river from Basse.

Francis Moore (1732) p. 136

"A small town called Canuba, to which town belongs a port two miles from it, where Antonio Voss of Tancrowall every year sends his canoes to trade.about ten miles from Bassy. "

Reeve: The Gambia. 1912 p. 136.

Photograph of Kanube wharf.

"Kanube ...taps a large portion of the trade of Fuladuqu, and at one time was one of the most important places on the upper river, but owing to some quarrel with the Mandingo chief of Upper Niani on the (north) bank, the factories have been removed to the (south) bank. and the trade and produce of the north bank find a wharf lower down, on the Sandugu River or Kunchau Creek... Kanube has its half-dozen tin roofs of European factories, and its ironstone cliff similar to Bassy, but the cliffs are not so strongly marked on the actual bank."

DPG: Kanube wharf was visited in 1953 . The wharf settlement was on a ridge overlooking the river...Inland was Kanube Julakunda. The village head was from the Daabo clan. The population was about 300 people. People had come to this place from Jufure in Nyoomi.

Miscellaneous spellings:	Poole (1850)	Canaby, Carnaby
	Hewett (1862)	Kanabie

H.F.Reeve: The Gambia. 1912. opp. p. 136



KANUBE.

SUTIMORE / SUTAMORE = SOTUMA

Francis Moore (1732) p. 138

" within three miles of Yamyamacunda

"do not fear the 'usurper' of Burdah."

p. 264 (1724) Stibb's Voyage: anchored at Yamyamacunda.."It having been a custom to pay a duty for all vessels that pass above this port to the King of Tomany, who lives at Sutimore, to which place this is the Port, and about a league distant from it, it detain'd us here all Day to adjust that affair...."

Innis (1976) writes, p.178

"Sotuma ...is well known as as 'griots' town', that is, a town in which a high proportion of the population are griots. This is the home town of Bamba Suso.

Alhaji Papa Susso comes from Sotuma-Seere .

YAMVAMACUNDA

(No longer existing)

Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea...1684

(Translation by P.E.H.Hair).

#45-46 mention "the port of Nhamenhancunda."

"...the port, which lies on the south side, and the village, near the water, which has a very good landing place. I always left a trader here, both because the port is convenient and because the local people are friendly; and I always found some ivory to buy."

Francis Moore: Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa.... 1738.

p. 26 (1730) "The Company have a factory at a small town called Yamyamacunda, which makes a considerable trade in dry goods, provided it is well supplied. A little below the town, in the middle of the river, are some rocks, but never dry; and over-against the factory, on the north side (of) the River, about half a mile from it, is a standing lake, about two miles long, which abounds in fish."

The mention of the lake enables the site to be identified as being about three miles down river from Kanube Tenda.

Francis Moore describes how the factory had been destroyed by flood in 1733, and had to be rebuilt. A plan of the new factory is given between pp 178 & 179.

A possible site is where the path NW from Sotuma, and that NE from Sankulekunda meet, close to the river bank, near the mouth of the Sunkutu Bolong.

FULADU EAST - SECTION 3 - Bakadaji to Saare Boja

Formerly part of Fuladu Central.
still spoken of as Jimara.

Bakadaji	main road	Jaxanke
Bakari Demba Kunda	beside Bakadaji	mixed (originally Fulbe?)
* Bannatenda	riverside wharf town	
Bantang Kori	north of Saare Talata	Firdu/ Mandinka Fulbe
Busura Jimara	south of Saare Talata came from Jilangeli	Serahuli
Dasilami Jimara = Saare Hamadi Jibel	west of Saare Boja	Lorobo
* Fatako	near river. NW of Kosema	Mandinka
Fulamori Maude	a few hundred yards south of Saare Dadi. near frontier	Lorobo
Janbara = Mansali-kunda	main road	Firdu Fulbe
Jawube Kunda = Saare Jaje	near swamp and river	Firdu Fulbe
Jaube Sambaru	south-west of Bakadaji from Saare Koki	Lorobo
Jeka = Saare Koki on map	north-west of Bakadaji	Lorobo/Firdu/Torodo
Jilangel	north of road	
Kamubako - gone	near Puntì bolong	Serahuli
Kayel Besel	south of Bakadaji. east of Saare Boja	----- Firdu Fulbe
Kayel Besel (2)		" "
* Koro Julia Kunda	north of road	
	south of Bannatenda (from Wuli)	Julakunda (Mandinka)
Koro Numukunda		Mandinka
Kosema Dombel (Kosemaari)		Firdu Fulbe
Kosema Momodu		Futanko
* Kosema Tenda	at river side	mixed
Liqikunda	north east of Saare Boja	near Saare Ligi
Madina Pate	near frontier & bolong Sumakunda area	Firdu Fulbe
Madina Sada	south of Bakadaji	Firdu Fulbe
Madina Kuru	beside Saare Boja	

Maniky Manson	north-east of Saare Boja	Firdu Fulbe
Mansalikunda	- see Janbara	
Mansarakunda Timbo Mbalo		Firdu Fulbe
(was near river. moved to right hand side of road coming from Saare Boja = Mansaring on map ?		
Musanding Kunda	south east of Bannatenda	Fulbe/Mandinka
Niaring Jofa	(now gone)	(Fulbe)
Njum Bakari	south of road, near bolong	Julakunda, Serahuli, Fulbe Futanke
Njum Mankaman	north of main road.	Firdu/ Mandinka
Numukunda Koro	close to Puntti bolong	Fulbe
Sabalikunda Manson	south east of Liqikunda	
	north of road,	Firdu/ Futanke
	west of Kosemar (From Fatako)	Fulbe
Sabalikunda Nganya	main road (From Chakunda)	Firdu Fulbe
Sabari	north of road, west of Liqikunda	Mandinka
Saare Ali = Baniko Jimara		
	south of Sumakunda. near frontier (from Tabajang)	Lorobo/Firdu Fulbe
Saare Amadi Jabel	west of Saare Boja	
Saare Bojo	main road	Firdu/ Serahuli/ Mandinka
=Bojo Kunda		
Saare Boja- Madina Kuru	south of main road	Toranke /Futanke
Saare Boja - Samba Mbalo		Firdu Fulbe
Saare Bojo Yoro		Lorobo
Saare Biram	beside Saare Demba Dadi	
Saare Cherno	near frontier. south of Bakadaji	Lorobo
Saare Dadi	near frontier. south of Bakadaji	Lorobo
Saare Demba Dadi	south of Jum Bakari	Firdu/Futanke
		Fulbe
Saare Demba Lengel	near river & Bannatenda	Futanke
Saare Jaje - see Jawube Kunda		
Saare Liqi	north east of Saare Boja	Serahuli, Mandinka
(= Legi-kunda)		Firdu.Fulbe
Saare Luntano	- gone	
Saare Ngatam	south of Saare Boja (From Guinea-Bissao)	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Njobo	south of Njum Bakari	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Pate Bakari	main road . east of Saare Boja (from Casamance)	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Sajo Baylo	near frontier. south of Bakadaji (from Sotoma Seni)	Firdu Fulbe

Saare Samba Tene Mbalde	east of Saare Boia	101
Saare Sara	near frontier. beside Saare Cherno (from Saare Mbai)	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Talata	main road	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Ture = Turekunda	north of Saare Talata (from Casamance)	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Wallam	north of road. south-east of Bannatenda	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Voro Penda	south of main road, near creek	Firdu Fulbe
Saare Yoroyel	near boundary, north of Saare Boia	mixed
Sibifula Konko	near river (broken up after fire)	Firdu/Mandinka
Sincu Saare = Mbalo kunda Jimara	north of road near creek SE of Banatenda	Firdu + other Fulbe
Sumakunda Birom		Lorobo/Jawando
Sumakunda Mfali	near boundary (very old village)	Mandinka
Tabajang	near river	Firdu/Mandinka/ Toranko
Temanto Demba Tia - now Saare Demba	main road (from Sabalikunda) Lengel	Firdu Fulbe
{ Tinbinto Musa m	near Bannatenda (old village)	Mandinka
Wasadun	south of road, near Punti Bolong (from Saare Nokba	Firdu Fulbe
Welingara SambaJide	south of road near Punti Bolong	Firdu Fulbe
Yarin Njufa - see Njaring Jofa	(now gone)	Fulbe

Population

	Assessment 1938	Assessment 1952?	Census 1973
Bakadaji	254	493	905
Bakari Demba Kunda		31	
Banatenda			
Bantan Kori	152	142	214
Busura Jimbara		135	
Dasilami Jimara (Saare Hamadi Jibel)		32	
Fatako	147	226	148
Fulamorv Maude	21	95	
Janbara= Mansali Kunda	28	66	
Jawube Kunda (Saare Jaje)	126	109	
Jawube Sambaru		34	
Jekka (Saare Koki on map)	98	121	139
Jilangel	265	359	568
Kayel Besel I		91	
Kayel Besel II		26	
Koro Julia Kunda	160	220	296
Koro Numukunda	56	52	
Kosema Dombel	18	37	
Kosema Momodu	142	225	183
Kosema Tenda	291	378	362
Madina Pate		53	
Madina Sada	12	41	
Maniky Manson (Founded 1937)	19	33	
Mansarakunda Timbo Mbalo		45	
Musanding Kunda	97	128	128
Njaring Jufa (Jofa?) (Founded 1937)		61	

	1938	1952?	1973
Njum Bakari	127	159	178
Njum Mankamang	41	86	100
Sabalikunda Manson	121	385	245
Sabalikunda Nganya	127	85	
Sabari	24	21	
Saare Ali= Baniko Jimara	137	77	
Saare Bojo = Madina Kuru		63	
" Bojo = Bojo Kunda	75	107	
" Bojo = Samba Mbalo		97	286 (Saare Bojo Samba)
" Bojo Yoro		79	
" Cerno (Cherno)		14	
" Dadi		67	
" Demba Dadi	70	234	
" Demba Lengel	26	100	
" Kigi (Legi Kunda)	53	119	
" Ngatam	47	48	
" Njobo	133	180	172
" Pate Bakari	62	65	100
" Saio Baylo	41	57	
" Sara (Founded 1952)			
" Talata	20	117	125
" Ture (Turekunda)	17	22	
" Walam	148	67	113 (Sare Wulem)
" Yoro Penda (Founded 1937)	64	57	
" Voroyel	53	36	
Sibifula Konko (burnt down 1952)	57	92	
Sincu Saare (=Mbalokunda Jimara)	47	131	118

	1938	1952	1973
Sumakunda Birom	50	48	
Sumakunda Mfali (old village near boundary)	81	95	
Tabajang	174	223	238
Temanto Demba	43	42	
Timbinto Musa	36	66	128
Wassadun		19	
Wellingara Samba Jide		53	
Varin Njufe= Njaring Jufa			

Villages from 1973 Census list - unidentified

Hafiya Bukore	128
Jawo Kunda	190
Madina Samaco	387
Welingara Kalo	102

SPECIFIC PLACES

BANATENDA

BUILE (in Francis Moore's account)

FATIKO

KORO

KOSEMA

SIBITULA (formerly MANGARINYE)

SUMAKUNDA

BANATENDA

Appears in Poole (1850) as Banna Tendi (p.150) and Banana Tendi (p.180).
A wharf and buying station for groundnuts.

BUILE (Unidentified)

Francis Moore (1732), p.141.

"I set out from Yamyamacunda over land...to Brucoe...

I passed thro'a town called Buile, pleasantly situated in a valley
with high hills on each side of it. (Before Corah & Chakunda).

The site might fit that of present day Liqikunda.

FATIKO = FATAKO near Kosema, near eastern boundary of Jimara

Francis Moore (1732) p. 143

"I passed thro' the town of Fatico, which lies on the frontiers of Jemarrow; about ten years ago this was a large town, at which time a noted Pholey ^(Fula) of Tomany came, with a great many others under his command, in order to settle under the protection of this town..where they had not been long before the townspeople began to use them ill, and take away their cows from them by force. The poor Pholeys endured it for a good while, till at last perceiving that they grew worse and worse, they resolved to bear it no longer, and so taking their arms, went under the conduct of their head-man, by name Clargée Solée, and fell upon the town, kill's several, and took some prisoners, which they sold, in order to repair the damages sustain'd by their having their cows taken from them. Since that time the town has been neglected and very few people care to live in it, because of the great scandal it bears for their ill usage of those Pholeys, who were under their protection, and want of hospitality."

P. 6- 17 24

H.F. Reeve: The Gambia. 1912, opp. p. 82.



DOWN-RIVER VIEW FROM KOSSEMA.

H.F. Reeve: The Gambia. 1912. opp. p. 72.



THE RIVER AT KOSSEMA.

CORAH (Moore 1732) = KORO

p. 141 "...a small town in Jemarrow, where the Emperor lives retir'd, drove away by the people of Dubocunda. About six miles to the westward of it is a large town of the same name, about which is a large tract of rice-grounds."

KOSEMA

Various spellings	Poole (1850)	Cushama
	Reeve (1912)	Kossema
	Rice (1967)	Kowsemar

Reeve (1912) has two photographs. p.72 The river at Kosema.
82 Downriver view from Kosema.

SIBIFULA

This was also known as Mangarinye (and appeared on old maps as Bangarin).

It was between Helakunda and Diabuqu.

It would also seem to be the 'Margarine' of Poole (1851, p. 182.)

SOMAKUNDA (SUMAAKUNDA)

Innes: Kaabu and Fuladu.... (1976), p.301, referring to the place attacked by Fode Kaba writes " ..there is a village of this name in Fulladu East District, about five miles east of Gambisara, but the village mentioned in the text (line 142 is perhaps to be identified with the village of Sumakunda Fye, which lies some six miles north-east of Suma Kunda and which is marked on the map as a ruin. The identification with Sumakunda Fye is perhaps strengthened by the fact that the ruler of Sumakunda had a son named Fai (line 164). "

No survey on the ground was carried out by the author, and the information about villages is based on maps, assessment lists, and census data.

However from the assessment lists etc. there are many names not shown on the maps, over 150 names remaining unidentified.

Maps consulted

1732	Leach	
1905	TSGS No.1983	1:1,000,000
1931	No.1958	1 cm to 2.5 kilometres
1948		1:50,000
1956		1:125,000
1980		1:250,000
1942	River chart	(touches only western end of Fuladu)

Area : 291 square miles.

For purposes of analysis the district was divided into two:

1. The area covered by sheet 18 of the 1:50,000 map. (Jimara)
2. The area covered by sheet 17 of the 1:50,000 map. (Jimara and Europana)
(Wuropana)

The boundary between Jimara and Wuropana lies to the west of Sappo, and relatively few villages are found between this and the boundary with Nyaamina.

Boundaries

The official description is as follows:

"Commencing on the River Gambia at the junction of a small creek with the said river opposite to the southern end of Baboon Island, thence following the left bank of the said river in a generally south-east-by-east direction of the Santanto Creek where it joins the western boundary of Fulladu East, thence following the western boundary of Fulladu East to a boundary pillar on the (international) boundary about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a north-north-west direction from the town of Sare Boja Demmo, thence following the said boundary in a west-north-west direction to a point where it meets the eastern boundary of Niamina East, thence following the eastern boundary of Niamina East to a point at the junction of a small creek opposite the southern end of Baboon Island at the point of commencement."

POPULATION - FULLADU WEST

1944	16,875	Assessment data (Senior Commissioner)
1945	17,837	
1946	18,708	
1947	20,233	
1948	21,768	
1949	21,768	
1950	19,578	
1951	23,726	
1952	18,374	
1953	21,100	
1954	21,296	
1955	21,807	
1956	26,951	
1957	21,757	
1958	24,515	
1959	n.a.	
1960	n.a.	
1961	23,261	
1962	n.a.	

1963	22,610	Census data
1973	32,645	" "
1983	43,134	" "
1993	56,952	" "

ETHNIC COMPOSITION - FULADU WEST .

A rough survey was made of the ethnic composition using the assessment data for 1946. The district is very mixed, with the dominant element being the Fulbe, who outnumber the original inhabitants-the Mandinka. But the Fulbe themselves represent the accumulation of many different migrations. There were old Fula groups - which seem to have been^{and} dominated by the Jombonkaabe, /a wave that come in with Musa Molo's conquests - the Firdu Fulbe, From the north bank have come both Loroobo (Doroobe) and Futa Tooroo Fulbe, while from Fuuta Jalon there have been many migrants. Most of the Fula villages have more than one element residing in them.

Estimate based on 1946 assessment data:

	%	%
Fulbe		47.1
-Loroobo	5.1	
-Fuuta Jalon	7.7	
-Fuuta Tooroo	13.9	
-Firduu	12.4	
-Laibe	0.7	
- Jombonkaabe	7.1	
- others	0.2	
Mandinka		24.1
Wolof		16.6
Serahuli		6.3
Jaxanke		2.2
Aku		*
Mansuwanka		0.4
Mauritanians		0.2
Paiadi ? (= Konyaji ?)		*
Jola		0.7
Talunka		0.5
Serer		0.1
Bambara		1.4
Manjago		*
Koniaji		*
Others		0.2
		<hr/> 99.8 <hr/>

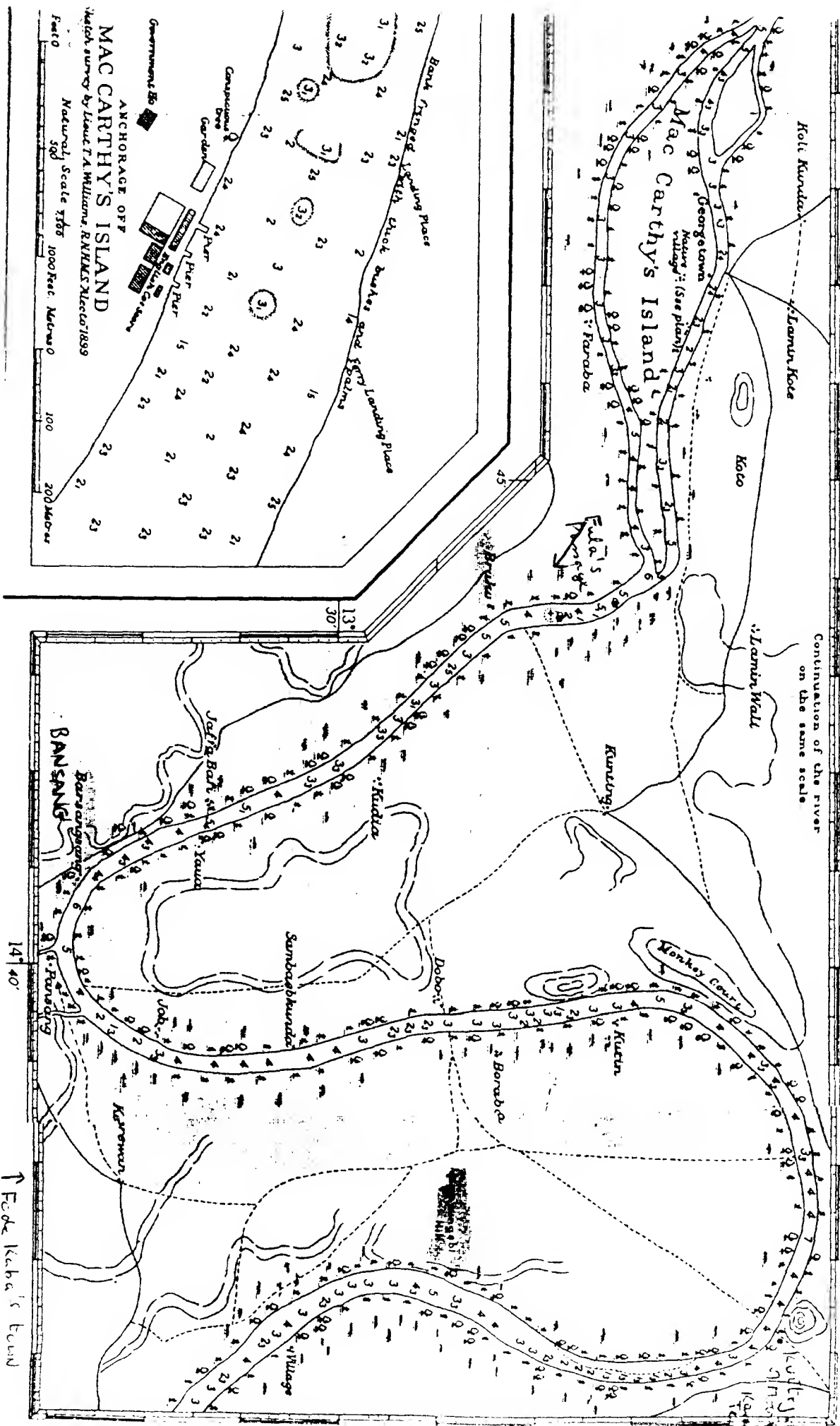
* under 1%

There are a number of Serahuli and Jaxanke villages, but the Serahuli form a much lower proportion of the total population than are to be found in Eastern Fuladu. The Wolof in recent years have migrated from the north bank, in search of better lands.

Trade centers like Bansang attract minorities of various origins- Aku (from Banjul), Mauritaniens, Lebanese, Jola, Mansuwanka, Jalunka etc. in addition to the indigenous inhabitants.

The Fula population has always been extremely mobile, small villages being established, and then abandoned after a few years.

Rice growing efforts in the Walikunda area (Jakhali/Pachar etc.) have also attracted new immigrants.



FULADU WEST (TIMARA)

Sheet 18 of 1/50,000 map + 1/125,000 of 1956.

A1	A2	A3			
A4	A5	A6		Population 1946	Population 1973
Abeokuta (close to Daru)	A5	Wolof		113	
* Alla Tentu (on main road NW of Bansang)	A1				
Bani = Bani Israel ? (W. of Mamayungebi Hill) (1956 map)				37	
Bankuba Samboido (N. of Chakunda)	A3	Fula		89	115
Bankuba (Sare Pati) (near Changel on 1931 map)					
Bankuba Yoroyel (on 1956 map)	A3	Fula			
* Bansang	A2	Mixed		523	2119
Bantanto	A2	Mandinka		210	488
Bantunding (on 1931 map) east of Sileri Ba					
Boraba (1980 map) (East of YBK)		Mandinka		244	300
* Buruku (East of Bansang) (many sub-villages)	A1	Mandinka		87	
* Chakunda (Chaakunda)	A6	Mandinka/ Fulbe		351	400
Charen (nr. frontier, S. of Bansang)	A5	Wolof/Fulbe		102	
* Changel = Chaiel (E. of Kerewan)	A3	Fulbe/ Mandinka		133	233
Charno Musa Cherno? (SW of Dobangkunda)	A5				

				Population 1946	Population 1973	115
Daru	A5				228	
(main road)						
Demba So	A3					
(N. of Chakunda, near river)						
* Doban Kunda Kebba	A2	Mandinka		317	698	
(Dobang						
Fula		Fulbe		64		
= Bakari					110	
Sambu	(1927 list)					
Jibel	" "					
Jide	" "					
Maunde	" "					
Sang Penda	" "					
Tamancho	" "					
Sanna	" "					
Gedi	(1930 list)					
Gebali	" "					
Ebadong	A5	Fulbe		58		
(Ibadan on old list)						
Faranabe (ruin)	A6					
(near Santanto Bolong)						
Farato	A6	Fulbe		84		
(S. of Chakunda near frontier)						
Fass (Belal)	A5	Wolof		86	198	
(S. of Donangkunda, near main road)						
Fori	A5	Wolof		87		
(near frontier, S. of Bansang)						
Fuka (Fuqa)	A1	Fulbe		139	115	
* Fulatenda						
(On 1931 map)						
near river						

Futa Vel (S.of Buruku)	A1				
Gaven Pate Gaie (=Ngaven ?) near frontier, S of Bansang	A4				
Jabel Kunda (S.of Dobangkunda)	A5				
Jallobeh (1980 map) (SE of YBK)		Fulbe	81	153	
Jamu (3 settlements near frontier SW of Bansang)	A4				
Jawbe (W of Mabali Koto)	A4				
Kali Kunda = Kolikunda ? Ker Abdu Medina (near Buruku)	A2 A1	Mandinka	91		
Kerewan (1936 list shows 6 Kerewans)	A2			304 143 467 214	Kerewan K./Bakari K/ Fula K. Lang Kut.
Kerewan (E.of Dobangkunda)	A5				
Kessere Kunda (Kesseli Kunda) (on road between Boraba & Kurop)		Mandinka + Fulbe	124	182	
Kewel (S.of Buruku)	A1				
*Koli Kunda (on 1956 map as Kalikunda)					
Kurup (Korop) (on main road to Bansang)	A1	Fulbe			
Lamoi (S.of Kerewan)	A2	Fulbe (mixed)		131	
Larago (Lalaqui) (S. of Kerewan)	A2	" "		235	
Logo Moji (near Santanto Bolong)	A6	Mandinka	44		
Mabali Alhusenu		Jaxanke	156		
" Bakari					

		Population 1946		Population 1973		117
Mabali Koto (Junku)	A2	Jahanke	150	252	Hamdi	
Kuta	A4			201	Modi	
(on road S. from Bansang)						
Madina (E. of Mundong)	A6					
Madina Fula Balde	A5	Fulbe	52			
(SE of Dobang Kunda)						
Mamayungebi Hill	A2					
Mesaith Savan	A2					
(N. of Kerewan)						
Misera	A5			189	Misera	
(S. of Bansang)				238	M. Bayen	
Misera Sare Malik	A4			591	M. Njoben	
(W. of Mabali Koto)						
Mundong	A6	Serahuli	180			
(nr. Santanto Bolong)						
Ndikiri Kunda (on 1980 map)						
Ndorna	A6		128	141		
(nr. Santanto Bolong)						
Nemataba	A2	Fulbe	20			
(S. of Kerewan)						
Nemataba Dembaru		"	74			
Ngali Kunda	A3					
(E. of Kerewan)						
Ngayen	A4	Serahuli	485	159		
(SW of Bansang nr. frontier)						
		Wolof	190			
Ngayen (2)						
Nibras	A2	Jaxanke	153	202		
(S. of Kerewan)						
Njoben	A4	Wolof/Fulbe	201			
(nr. frontier. S of Bansang)						
+ Njoben Bubu			188			
Njareng Kunda	A2					
(Njamenq on 1948 map)						
on 1956 map. N. of Bankuba Forest Park, S. of Kerewan						
Njoren	A5					
(nr. road, nr. frontier						
S. of Dobangkunda)						
* Pirifu (NE of Nibras)	A2					
Sanchabari	A5			119		

		Population 1948	Population 1973	118
Santanto	A6			
(nr Santanto Bolong)				
large number of minor villages				
S. Mawdo Bambe			156	
S. Bubu Tabanding			125	
S. Voba Jalo				
S. Omar Kande				
S. Jamuva Kande				
S. Serifu Mbalo.				
old lists				
S. Samba (Sanna?) Demo				
S. Maunde	Fulbe	48		
S. Usman	"	40		
S. Sadem	"	107		
S. Wurumang			225	
S. Kuta (1931 map)				
S. Koto (1931 map)				
Saare Ali	A3			
(E. of Kerewan)				
Saara Bakari Demba	A5			
(E. of Dobangkunda)				
Saare Dadi	A4			
(nr.frontier. S.of Bansanq)		137		
Saare Debo (Willingara)	A5			
(S.of Dobangkunda				
near main road)				
Saare Duta (See 1930 map)				
(near Karantaba Tenda)				
Saare Goral Bah	A5			
(E. of Dobang Kunda)				
Saare Jabel	A4	Fulbe	192	
(SW of Bansanq, nr.frontier)		(mixed)		
Saare Jaje	A3			
(N. of Chakunda)				
Saare Jide	A5		102	
(S.of Dobangkunda)				

		Population 1946	Population 1973	119
Saare Kanaman (on frontier SW of Bansang)	A4		117	
Saare Kinte (S.of Bansang)	A4			
Saare Madi (W.of Mabali Koto)	A1/A4			
Saare Madi (W.of Mabali Koto)	A1			
Saare Madi (close to Mabali Kuta)	A4			
Saare M. Bunka (nr.road S.of Bansang)	A4			
Saare Mansong (1980 map) nr. Mamayungkabi Hill				
Saare Modu Ba (north of Daru)	A5			
Saare Ngai (Nillingo) = Ngale Kunda (E.of Chagel) (On 1931 map)				
Saare Njobo (main road, S.of Bansang)	A4			
Saare Pate (nr.frontier. S.of Bansang)	A4			
Saare Pate (N.of Chakunda)	A3			
Saare Sabo (E. of Kerewan)	A3			
Saare Samba Tako (E.of Dobangkunda)	A2			
Saare Sofi (NE of Chakunda, near river)	A6	Fulbe	145	449
Saare Yoro Egge (S.of Dobang Kunda)	A5			
Saare Yoro Golori (SE of Dobangkunda)	A5		187	
Sawadi Kunda (E. of Kerewan)	A3	37	118	

			Population 1946	Population 1973	120
Seleri Kunda (Silari Kunda) (N. of Kerewan)	A2	Fulbe	55	107	
Sofi Kunda = Saare Sofi (main road, near Fulatenda)		(1931 map)			
Sulolor = Sololo (West of Bansang)					
Sololo Mandinka		Mandinka	195	322	
Sololo Fulakunda (1931 map)	A1			123	
Tabato = Saare Boido (N. of Chagel) (1931 map)		Fulbe	54		
Talliva (Tali Jowo) (N. of Kerewan) on 1931 map					
Tamanso Kunda (SW of Dobangkunda)	A5				
Tandi (Kunda)	A5	Wolof	110	145	
Temanto (Demba Uba) (1931 map) (W. of Charjel)					
Tuba (main road w. of Bansang) (Other Tubas)	A1				
Tuba Usman Boy (near frontier, W. of Mabali kunda)	A4	Wolof	152	300	
Welingara Sana (nr. Nibras, 1980 map)				293	

SPECIFIC PLACES

ALLATENTO (ALLA TENTU)

BANSANG

BOROBA WHARF

BURUKU

CHAKUNDA

CHARJEL TENDA

DOBANG KUNDA

FULA TENDA

KERWWAN DUMBUKONO

KOLIKUNDA

PIRIFU

ALLATENTO (ALLA TENTU)

An isolation village for lepers, situated on the main road about 1 mile west of Bansang Hospital in the MacCarthy Island Division. In 1962 it consisted of ten mud huts with thatched roofs, a new treatment block, and cooking and sanitary facilities.

BANSANG

This is a major center for groundnut purchases and trade, a road leading south to the Casamance.

It has the only hospital in the Provinces. Photographs of the hospital and clinic are to be found in:

Gambia: Report for the years 1958 and 1959. HMSO. 1961.

Andria Fletcher and M.D. Gossweiler: The Gambia, 1977. p. 254 & 136-137.

BOROBA WHARF

A wharf south of McCarthy Island. Mentioned by Reeve (1912), p. 138.

BORAA BAA "a griots' village."

Source: Gambia: Report for the years 1958 and 1959. HMSO. 1961.



Bansang Hospital, MacCarthy Island Division

Source: The Gambia: Report for the years 1954 and 1955. HMSO .1957.



The River at Bansang.

R. Webb



BANSANG VILLAGE

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BURUKU

Francis Moore (1732) p.114 : Brucoe

"....lies on the south side of the river...about half a mile from the water; between which the Company are now building a factory..."

(Brucoe was under Dubocunda).

p.26 "Here the Company have a settlement near a large town called Brucoe, which is inhabited by people of the Munding race, but strict followers of Mahomet. About half a mile below this town is a ledge of rocks dry at low water."

Reeve (1912), p.199 refers to the Bruku Rocks as "Pholey's Pass."

He describes the rocks as follows "a bar or ledge of ironstone, running from the right bank across the river nearly at right angles to its course, leaving, however, a passage or sluice to the natural dam about thirty yards wide, but deep enough to take a large vessel. Below is a deep pool for merely a mile, with five to seven fathoms, in which there is a whirlpool when the river is high and the current strong..."

In Andre Alvares de Almada's Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea (c.1594), (Translation by P.E.H.Hair, 1984), he writes (p.53) sec.4.

"I must not fail to report something I saw in this river, at a place called Fulos' Pass. The river is a very large one, very fast-flowing, very deep and very wide. There (once) came here, in the course of a war, an army of Fulos which had already reduced to subjection the Mandingas in every district it came through. It was so great that it covered all the lalas (grass swamps). The army decided to cross to the other bank of the river, but had no boats to do this. Though the river is a league or more across, the Fulos flung in stones (and made a ford), so that the whole army could pass over. Many assert that so numerous was the army that it was only necessary for each soldier to bring one stone. Be that as it may, they filled up the river, and the whole army went across with its baggage, which was very considerable, since they brought with them many horsemen, and (also) donkeys, and herds of cows, which marched with them. (In battle) the archers took up their position among the cows, and shot arrows from there. When the Fulos wanted the cows to halt, they spoke to them in their language and they stopped, and when they wanted them to resume the march, they spoke (again) and they set off....."

The same tradition is repeated by Francisco de Lemos Coelho:
Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684), also translated by P.E.H.Hair.
p.18 section 36.

"Os Passos dos Fulos (Fulos' Passage)....The blacks say that an army of the Fulos travelling in these parts wished to cross this river and could not do so. But there were so many of them that when their general ordered each one to throw a stone into the river, so many stones were thrown that they(blocked the river and) formed a 'pass' which enabled them to ford it. Later the currents of water opened the small channel through which one can sail. I always took this to be a myth. But let anyone believe it if he likes, for this is what the 'sons of the land' affirm."

He describes the passage as "one of the most dangerous passages on the river because the bottom consists of rocks and the current is very strong, the water always running like a mountain torrent."

CHAKUNDA

Francis Moore (1732) p. 141.

" I arrived at Chaucunda, a large town, with a strong cirk or fence, pleasantly situated near the foot of a rocky hill, on the skirts of a large plain, which reaches to the river Gambia, that runs about four miles from the town. "

(The alcade was formerly Emperor of Jemarrow, but elsewhere he mentions Corah as the previous emperor's residence.)

CHARJEL TENDA (Chaajel ?)

Old spelling Chargell. See sheet 18 of 1/50,000 map.

Between Karantaba (North bank) and Banna Tenda (South Bank).

Port for the village of Charjel. Formerly buying station for groundnuts.

DUBOCUNDA (Moore)

-1732

= DOBANG KUNDA

p.114 "....the head men of the country live here.."

"Dubocunda lies on the south side of the river, about nine miles from Brucoe; it is divided into two parts, or, if you please, into two distinct towns; one of which is fortified with a vast number of ciboa (i.e. rhun palm) trees, fix'd in the ground, and clay stuffed in between, to strengthen it, so that it is little inferior to a brick wall. The other town is only surrounded with a cane cirk (fence), much like our English hurdles, fastened up with a great number of sticks...The people live in the open town till such time as they are hotly at war with any others, and then they fly into that which is fortified, that being their last shift. These are a very rebellious sort of people, and have a king of their own, whom they called Suma, having driven the lawful emperor of Jemarrow out of his town, to the very borders of the country, where he lives retir'd, and dares not come any distance from home."

p. 142. "The people of this town being of a rebellious nature, chose themselves a king of their own, which they call suma, who has a great deal of power over all the towns near his own.."

FULA TENDA

river wharf

Described by Poole (1850)... above MacCarthy Island, N.E. of Chakunda.

"...a factory port consisting of a few common huts near to the bank....

marked by several large trees (baobabs) which indicated the landing place and provided shade. "

Between Fula Tenda and Banna Tenda rocks appeared on the right hand as we advance up the river, and a shoal on the left of us. Here the Gambia narrows suddenly and considerably, so as to compel us to keep close to the bank."

Poole spells the name Foulah Tendi.

KEREWAN DUMBU KONO

A town established by Fode Kaba Dumbuya (See page 52).

KOLIKUNDA

In the loop of the river behind Mamayungabi Hill.

Francis Moore (1732), p.142 writes Colykunda - (between Dubocunda and Brucoe)... "A small town..noted only for pretty girls."

- (1) Bartholomew Stibbs: Journal of a Voyage up The Gambia....1723

In Francis Moore, p. 263.

"...we came to anchor about two leagues beyond Cuttejarr, about a mile beyond Arse-Hill which in the Journal is call'd the Maiden's Breast. I went up it with Mr. Hull, and found it, as the Journal says, compos'd of an iron stone (as all the high lands we have seen are), but we have little reason to believe that it contains either Gold or Silver....

This hill takes its name from the obscene superstition of the natives who never pass it without showing their bare breeches to it, with dancing, singing, and clapping of hands, believing that if they should omit it, they would surely die before they return. Accordingly ours did the same, which made us laugh heartily; and seeing we White Men omitted it, they perform'd it for us."

- (2) Rev. T.E.Poole: Life, Scenery and Customs in Sierra Leone and the Gambia, 1850 devoted several pages to the place. (Vol.II, 146-148).

He calls the spirit Manidungaby, describes how the crew paid their respects, while the passengers were satisfied with having been spectators of the singular custom. (Mammenunkaby on page 171.)

- (3) A Methodist missionary (Morgan) 1864 also describes the event.

"One Sunday morning, when coming up the river, the schooner anchored opposite a mountainous rock...(On coming on deck the missionary) found an abominable rite of devil worship being performed. Between thirty and forty men and women were uncovered, dancing with their backs towards the rock: delicacy forbids further description of such a scene. In a loud voice, which stopped the dancing, he inquired, "What can be your object in doing this?". The reply was, "One devil lives on that rock; all strangers passing it the first time must do this, or else the devil will give them bad pain in the stomach to-morrow."

Francisco de Lemos Coelho: Description of the Coast of Guinea (1684)

p. 22 para 46.

"..One league short of Sumacunda is the port of Perifo. When you have passed Perifo, go to the North side, because the South has shallow water and a sandbank. The landmark of the port of Perifo is a number of poulões (cotton-trees), large ones standing in the village.

Leach's Map (1732) shows Preef, after Brukoe and before Kuttejar Factory. in side a deep bend of the river.

A map in Lamin O. Sanneh: The Jakhanke, 1979, (Map 5), shows Pirifu, north east of Nibras, north west of Chakunda, but it is not listed in the index.

The Pirifu area was apparently cleared again in the time of Fode Kaba Dumbuva (19th.century), who established a port there, serving his town Kerewan Dumboto.

FULADU WEST (Wuopana & Jimara)

Sheet 17 (1948)

1	3	5	7
2	4	6	8

			Population 1946	Population 1973
Alhaji Dembo	6			73
Alalulil (Ahlulai) (=Saare Jabel ?) /Allulav (nr. Taiba, SW of Sare Yewtu) (On 1956 map)		Wolof	42	217
Bambawuleng Kunda (near Nema) (On 1931 map)				
Bowe (S. of Kerewan Samba Sira)	6	Torobe	108	136
Brikama Ba (On main road)	3	Mandinka	215	702
Brikama N'Ding	3	Mandinka	277	375
*Dasilame	1	Mandinka	152	231
Demba Kumbel (SW of Fula Bantang)	6			
Denton (on 1980 map) (S of Brikama Ba)		Wolof	137	661
Dungal (NE of Fula Bantang)		Fulbe	110	
Faraba (W. of MacCarthy Island)	7	Mandinka	165	318
Fas (east of road south from Brikama Ba. Near frontier)	4			101 (Niobo)
Fas Abdu Sey		Wolof	257	300
* Fula Bantang (Pachari Kono Ba) (on main road)	6	Fulbe	159	240
Galle Manda = Manda (on 1980 map) (SW of YBK)				618
Galle Wolof	8	Wolof	144	110
Jakhali (Near main road)	3	Serahuli	257	628

Jamagen (Near Fula Bantang)-1980 map	Fulbe		183
Kerewan Samba Sira (Main road)	5		
Khewal (NE of Fula Bantang)	7		
Konko Fula (W. of MacCarthy Island)	7		
Kur Kur (Voro Mbalo)- (Near Brikama Ba) -1980 map	Firdu Fulbe	158	211
Kurukuru Bunka	"	31	
Kusalang 1980 map (Near frontier. SW of Fula Bantang)	Fulbe (Torobe)	123	159
Lamin Sandeng (Senegal ?) 4 (S. of Madina on frontier)			
Madina (NE of Fula Bantang)	7		
Madina (Main road, before Brikama Ba)	2		
Madina Demba (S. of MacCarthy Island) near frontier	8 Wolof	232	
Madina Mfali (1980 map) (Between Jakhali & Brikama Ba)	Serahuli	485	
Madina (Mankaiang) (On main road, west of Fulabantang)	5		
Madina Tuniang (on 1956 map) (S. of YBK)			310
Manda (Mandak) (South of MacCarthy Island, near frontier)	8 Wolof	175	618
Manna (on 1956 map) (On main road near Brikamanding)			
Mara Maqqi (on 1980 map) (near Brikama Ba)			166
Mbul Manda (on 1980 map) (SW of Sankulikunda)			

			Population 1946	Population 134 1973
Misira	3			
(near main road- east of Madina)				
Muritabe	8			
(East of Fula Bantang)				
Widikiri Kunda (on 1980 map)		Mandinka/	365	422
(near Dobang Kunda)		Fulbe		
	= <u>SHEET 18</u>			
Widikiri Yoro				168
Wema	7			
(West of MacCarthy Island)				
* N'Joben	4	Wolof	201	
(South of Brikama Nding)				
Pachari Sana	6	Mandinka	277	626
(On main road , west of Fulabantang)				
Sabu Sire	5	Mandinka	36	
(on main road, west of Fulabantang)				
(Sankule Kunda				
(Sankuli Kunda	7	Mandinka/Fulbe	574	485
(South of MacCarthy Island)				
Sabu	8			248
Saare Abdu (on 1980 map)				
(S. of Jakhali)				
Saare Adama	6			
(near frontier, SW of Fulabantang)				
Saare Babu Jimbi	6			
(S.of main road, E of Fulabantang)				
Saare Bala	6			
(S. of (Pachari Sana)				
Saare Boutie	6			
(S. of Kerewan Samba Sira)				
Saare Fali	8			
(SE of Fula Bantang)				
Saare Futa = Madina Alfa				
(1956 map, between Pachari Sana & Tabanding)				
Saare Futa (1980 map)				
near Brikama Ba				

Saare Fosari	8		
(E. of Fula Bantang)			
Saare Jabel			
(near frontier,			
SW of Kerewan Samba Sira)		192	196
Saare Laube			
(SW of Saare Malang)	1		
Saare Malang	1		
(on main road from Kudang)			
Saare Maunde			
(Near frontier,	6		
south of Pachari Sana)			
Saare Naba	8		
(ESE of Fula Bantang)			
Saare Ngay	6		
(South of Fula Bantang)			406
Saare Ram	3/4		
(S. of Brikama Ba)			
Saare Sambaro			
(Near Manda, at frontier)			
on 1956 map			
Saare Sambuldu	8		
(SE of Fula Bantang)			
Saare Yewtu	6		
(South of Kerewan Samba Sira)			
Sare Yoro Beri = Yoro Beri Kunda			
(1931 map)			
Saare Yoro Buka	6		
(Near frontier, SSW of			
Fulabantang)			
Saare Yoro Tako	6	Fulbe (mixed)	157
(SW of Fula Bantang)			174
Saruia	5	Mandinka	91
(near river, NE of Brikama Ba)			892
Sebo Kunda (on 1931 map)			
(S. of Jarume Koto on North Bank)			
Sering Saho	8		
(SSE of Fula Bantang)			
Sidi Kunda (on 1931 map)			
(in loop behind Mamayungkabe)			

			Population 1946	Population 1973
Sinchu Bachi (SSE of Fula Bantang)	8			
Sinchu Danku (on 1956 map, between Sinchu Bachi & Sering Sahor)				
Sinchu Kusalang (near frontier, SW of Fula Bantang)	6			
Sinchu Omar Se (near frontier, south of Pachari Sana)	6			
Sinchu Samba Kumbel (near frontier, SW of Fulabantang)	6			
Sukuta (In loop behind Mamavungahi Hill)				112
Taba Nani (West of MacCarthy Island)	7	Mandinka	167	552
Tabanding + Tabanding Bubu " Yoro	4	Fulbe	259	
Taiba = Saare Boutie on map (On 1956 map, SW of Saare Yewtu)				
Taifa Amadu				261
Taifa Seeku (On 1980 map) (near Brikama Ba)		Fulbe (mixed)	200	459
Tumani Fati (West of MacCarthy Island)	7			
* Walikunda Walikunda wharf	3 3		6	109
Wilingara (Near river, NE of Brikama Ba)	3			
* Yoro beri Kunda (South of MacCarthy Island)	8	Mandinka/Fulbe	473	a Mand. 282 b Fula 282

The 1973 Census provides the names of a series of villages not on earlier lists or maps.

Bantan Ylma	151
Gabou Faramba	203
Gidda	186
Khahow	200
Lama	107
Madina Amadou	167
" Jakhaly	1186
" Sisekunda	135
" Tamsir	112
Njallai	102
Sam Pate	285
Sare Dirnner	136
" Jibel	100
" Ngallen	138
Sinchu Bora	126
" Dembel	160
" Samba Jawo	134
Sukur	240
Tubanding	121
Welingara Adama	108
" Kejaw	231
" Ngor	138
" Yoro	113

There is always a problem sorting out the various Madinas and Welingaras.

SPECIFIC PLACES

DASILAMF

FULA BANTANG

NJOBEN

SINCHU ABDU

SUKUR

WALIKUNDA

YOROBERIKUNDA

DASILAMEH (Mandinka)

Webb, Patrick: Intrahousehold Decisionmaking and Resource Control:
The Effects of rice commercialization in West Africa.
Washington: IFPRI, p. 16

"The founders of Dasilameh..came from Guinea Bissau at the turn of the century. As a group of five Mandinka families, they left Guinea Bissau to join relatives in the village of Sololo (20 kilometers east of Georgetown). On arrival they discovered that their hosts would not make sufficient land available to them for independent survival, so they sought another location. It was the chief of Brikama Ba who gave them the lands that have since been held in the name of Dasilameh village. The five original families have subsequently grown into the five largest and most important lineages in a village consisting of roughly 800 inhabitants."

FULA BANTANG

Has a Roman Catholic Mission and school.

KESEEREKUNDA

The place where Musa Molo eventually settled. He died there, and a mausoleum has now been erected over his grave.

NJOBEN

(Wolof)

Webb, Patrick: Intrahousehold Decisionmaking and Resource Control:
The Effects of rice commercialization in West Africa.
Washington, IFPRI, 1989, p. 17.

"The Wolof village of Njoben was founded in 1927 by three families from Mbarro Kataba in Senegal. They came to The Gambia to escape severe food shortages caused by drought and successive years of crop damage caused by insect pests. Having pleaded with the most powerful chief of the region, they were granted land in a little populated area on the border with Casamance. The three founding families have now grown so large that they make up almost 50 per cent of the population of the village of 1,200 inhabitants."

SINCHU ABDU

Webb...p.17.

"The...newest of the sample villages, Sinchou Abdou, was founded only in 1981 by three Fula families from Central Gambia who sought new land for farming. They were attracted to the present spot because they heard of a forthcoming Jahally-Pacharr project and wished to be involved in such a scheme. Since 1980 another 12 households have joined the village."

SUKURR

(Serahuli)

Webb, Patrick: Intrahousehold Decisionmaking and Resource Control:
The Effects of rice commercialization in West Africa.
Washington, IFPRI, 1989, p. 17.

"The founder and present-day chief of Sukurr claimed the right to an independent village in 1958. This man is a renowned Koranic teacher who attracts dozens of pupils from all parts of the Senegambia region. He decided to leave his former village of Medina Umfally (only five kilometers west of the present village when accomodation for his many disciples began to get short. So far Sukurr only comprises ten household, but it is already gaining a widespread reputation as a center of excellence for Koranic schooling."

WALIKUNDA

R.E.Jackson in his Brief Notes on a Visit to The Gambia, May 1951.
describes the Walikunda area as follows.

"Wallikunda is well above the mangrove and saline regions. Along the river's edge there is a fairly dense natural forest including tall *Raphia* palms, and behind that, extensive swamp lands covered with rank grasses and bush trees. The flood plain is up to five miles wide, bounded by relatively higher land and ironstone cliffs. The marshes are saucer-shaped, for a short distance round the edge, the land slopes fairly regularly, but over the greater part, it is rough and uneven, and divided by numerous small creeks and depressions. The river bank forms a pronounced lip, which is overtopped by the river only for a short time in August-September, but the water can enter through the bolons, and much land is about three feet below high flood level and some of it deeper. "

YOROVERIKUNDA

often referred to as YBK.

Source: J. Gordon: Notes on Yoroberikunda Village and Agriculture in the Gambia. August-December 1944.
 Bathurst: Government Printer, 1946.
 (Sessional Paper No.3/1946).

- p.1 "Yoroberikunda is about 2½ miles from Georgetown ...It is close to (but not on) the main road from Bathurst to Basse, following the south bank of the river.

The nearest trading centre is Georgetown, on MacCarthy Island, and traffic has to cross a branch of the river by canoe or ferry in order to reach the island.

A few hundred yards from the village is the Agricultural Station with a European officer in charge....Although very familiar with the place the villagers take little interest in the work done at the station and its influence on methods of farming among these ultra conservative people has been practically nil.

- 2 The village has grown hap-hazard. It is rather scattered, roughly in the form of a T, and is situated on rising ground, with 'laterite' stony outcrops on the higher land. Towards the East the land slopes gently to the rice swamps.
- 3 The land for about one mile distance from the village is more or less intensively farmed.. upland soils sandy & suit the cultivation of coos and groundnuts. work in rice fields done by women.. cattle used for manuring farmlands..

Twenty four out of 37 families are Fula	
8	Mandinka
4	Jola
1	Manswanka

- 4 The village head was Falai Bande, the District Chief's brother.

A nutrition survey was carried out in Yoro Beri Kunda in 1945-46 by Miss Joyce Griffiths (#3111)

The old Fuladu Central District

This was divided on 15th June 1932 - the Jimara area (between the Mansafa Bolon and the Santanto Bolon) being included in the Fuladu East District, of the Upper River Province, and the Chakunda area (between the Santanto Bolong and the Bansang-Chaj (?) road, being included in the Fuladu West District of the MacCarthy Island Province.

Originally by a Proclamation dated 12th June 1901, Fuladu was transferred to H.M.'s Government, and the Protectorate Ordinance applied on 15th February 1902. Demba Danso at Boro Ba was made Chief of the area from Kosema to the boundary of Eastern Niamina. In 1906 finding the area too large to administer, he asked that a Sub-Chief be appointed for the area between Mansafa Bolon and Cha Kunda. To this position Wallum Kandi (a Court Member) was appointed in 1907.

In 1919 Demba Danso died, and the District of Fuladu West was divided into two - Fuladu West with Sana Baio of Pachare being appointed Chief, and Wallum Kandi, of Wallum Kunda, Head Chief of Fuladu Central. ^{February} (March 1919). In May 1919 a Sub-District was constituted in the Fuladu Central District called Cha Kunda Sub-District, comprising the towns between the Bansang-Chaj road and the western boundary of Fuladu Central, Talli Jawo being appointed Sub-Chief. On 28th January 1920 Wallum Kandi died, and on 18th March Talli Jawo was appointed Head Chief of the whole District.

In February 1921 Fuladu Central and Fuladu West were transferred from the administration of the Commissioner Upper River Province to that of the Commissioner, South Bank Province whose headquarters were at Kudang.

In 1922 Talli Jawo's appointment was terminated, and he was followed by Dickori Kande, Headman of Wallum Kunda, and a member of the Native Tribunal of Fuladu Central. He was a son of Wallum Kande, a former chief.

In October 1930 the Fuladu Central District passed to the administration of the Commissioner, MacCarthy Island Province at Georgetown, but returned to the administration of the Commissioner Upper River Province in April 1931. The area had not been closely supervised by the administration and there was considerable discontent with the Chief. After a visit up river by the Governor Sir Richmond Palmer the District and its tribunal were abolished (May 1932), the Chakunda area being merged into the Fuladu West District of MacCarthy Island Province, and the Jimara area into the Fuladu East District of the Upper River Province.

To summarise:

1902	Jimara part of Fulladu West under U.R.P.
1906	" made a sub-district.
1919	" created independent Fuladu Central
1921	" transferred to S.B.P.
1930	" " " M.I.P.
1932	" divided between Fulladu East and Fulladu West.

The Chiefs were:

	Fulladu West	Fulladu Central Jimara	Fulladu East
1902	Demba Danso		Falai Kora
1911	" "		Mamadi Kora
1912	" "		Kemo Kora
1913	" "		Mamadi Kora
1915	" "		Mansajang Bande (Balde)
1919	Sana Baio	Wallum Kande	" "
1920	" "	Tali Jawo	" "
1922	" "	Dikori Kande	" "
1923	Ansumana Dabo	" "	" "
1924	Cherno Kadde Bande	" "	Jawuru Kurubali
1925	" " "	" "	" "
1932	" " "	(divided)	" "

= (Based on Commissioner's reports, N.M.Assheton (1942), Bailey, et al.